

CONTRIBUTION OF SECURITY FORCES PERSONNEL TO DETER
MIGRATION AND IMPROVE STABILITY IN WEST AFRICA

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Strategic Studies

by

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ABSTRACT

CONTRIBUTION OF SECURITY FORCES PERSONNEL TO DETER MIGRATION AND IMPROVE STABILITY IN WEST AFRICA, by Major Palababade Kambre, 106 pages.

Bordered on the north by the Sahara Desert and on the south by the Gulf of Guinea, West Africa has sixteen countries and 365 million inhabitants. This region has experienced a migration phenomenon not seen since the period of the great empires. While this is not a major issue, for the past two decades, the rise of rebel groups, the difficult economic situation, and the spread of diseases triggered a new mindset. Although most researchers targeted politic and economic reforms as a mean to mitigate the problem, this thesis posits that security forces can play a key role. This research is based on the assumption that by enforcing border control and participating in economic development, security personnel can reduce migration. In view of the above, the study analyzes the capability of the Economic Community of West African States Standby Force to reduce migration, and makes a comparative case study of Mali and U.S. migration policies.

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ACRONYMS

AHSG	Authority of Heads of States and Government of Member States
ASF	African Standby Force
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
DOD	Department of Defense
DOTMLP	Doctrine, Organization, Training, Materiel, Leaderships, Personnel
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ESF	Economic Community of West African States Standby Force
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIV-AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus-Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
KAIPTC	Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center
MB	Main Brigade
MSC	Mediation and Security Council
TF	Task Force
USBP	U.S. Border Patrol

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Overview of West Africa

West Africa is bordered on the north by Maghreb countries, on the west and south by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the east by Central Africa states. It encompasses sixteen states and covers 6.5 million square kilometers, approximately one-fifth of Africa. West African countries enjoy a diverse climate that varies from desert in the north with steppe, to sub-tropical in the south with forests. The shortage of rainfall and infertile soil in the north makes this region inadequate for agriculture. The southern region is favorable for agriculture and this attracts people. As shown in figure 1, it is easy to understand why the population density along the coast in the south is approximately 500 people per square kilometer.¹

The improvement of medications to fight malaria and Human Immunodeficiency Virus-Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (HIV-AIDS) in the last two decades resulted in a decrease in the mortality rate and an increase in longevity. Accordingly, the population increased from 307 million in 2010 to 365 million in 2016, almost 4.81 percent of the world's population.² However, the population is distributed unequally as shown in table 1. Analysis of the data in this table revealed that Nigeria is the leading

¹ Rita Kennedy, "West Africa Geography Information," *USA Today*, accessed 10 September 2016, <http://traveltips.usatoday.com/west-africa-geography-information-63266.html>.

² Worldometers, "West Africa Population," accessed 8 October 2016, <http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/western-africa-population/>.

country in terms of population in West Africa. It has 51 percent of the population but only 5 percent of the total land mass. Ghana follows Nigeria with 7 percent of the population and 1.41 percent of the land mass. Third is Ivory Coast with 7 percent of the population and 1.91 percent of the land mass. These countries are also the top three for Gross Domestic Product (GDP). On the other hand, the three largest countries in West Africa—Niger, Mali, and Mauritania—combined represent 21 percent of the territory, and have a GDP equal to Ivory Coast.

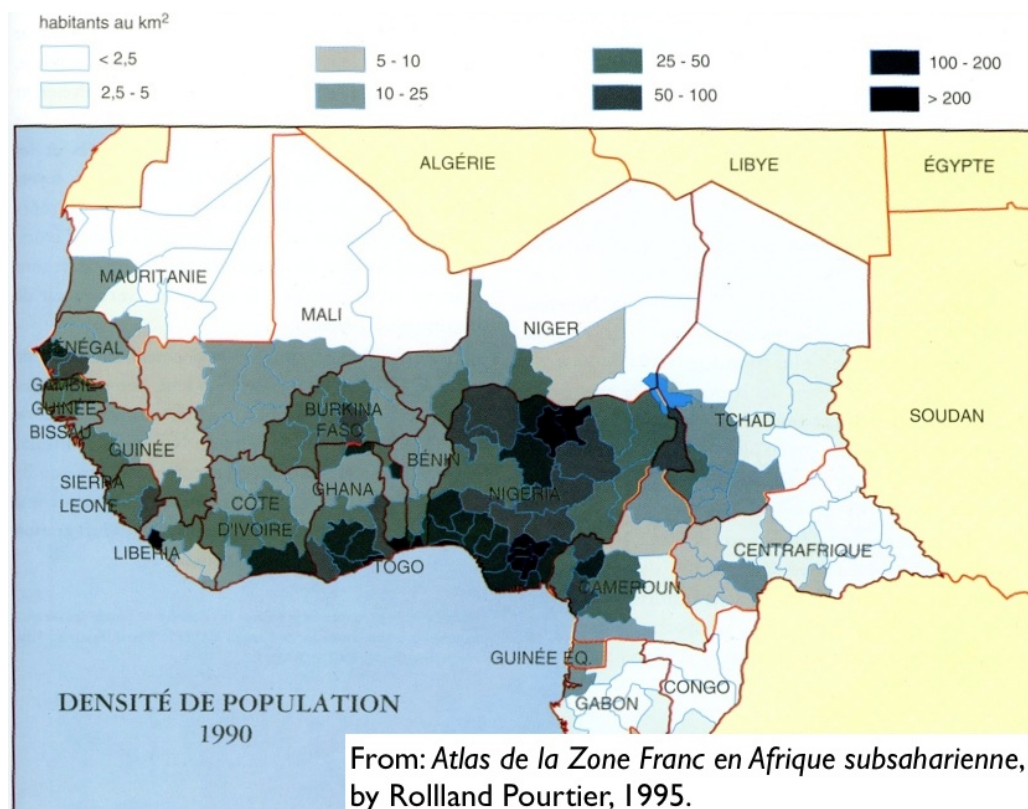


Figure 1. Demographic Dimensions of the Conflict in Ivory Coast

Source: Rollland Pourtier, "Map of Population Density in West Africa," *Atlas de la Zone Franc en Afrique subsaharienne*, on Martin W. Lewis, "The Geographic Dimensions of the Conflict in Ivory Coast," GeoCurrents, submitted 3 May 2011, accessed 15 October 2016, <http://www.geocurrents.info/geopolitics/the-demographic-dimensions-of-the-conflict-in-ivory-coast#ixzz4NCxEbksd>.

In addition, these three combined are four times the size of Nigeria, but their population is less than half that of Nigeria. It is obvious to draw the connection between the repartition, population, and development of West African countries.

Table 1. General Information on Countries in West Africa

No.	Country	Population	Percentage of Population	Square Miles	Percentage of Land	2014 GDP (billions of dollars)
1	Nigeria	186,987,563	51%	356,667	5.48%	573,652
2	Ghana	28,033,375	7%	92,100	1.41%	38,648
3	Ivory Coast	23,254,184	6%	124,503	1.91%	33,956
4	Niger	20,715,285	5%	489,698	7.53%	8,025
5	Burkina Faso	18,633,725	5%	105,900	1.62%	12,503
6	Mali	18,134,835	4%	478,839	7.36%	11,915
7	Senegal	15,589,485	4%	76,000	1.16%	15,584
8	Guinea	12,947,122	3%	94,980	1.46%	6,529
9	Benin	11,166,658	3%	42,000	0.64%	8,701
10	Togo	7,496,833	2%	22,000	0.33%	4,604
11	Sierra Leone	6,592,102	1%	27,699	0.42%	5,033
12	Liberia	4,615,222	1%	43,000	0.66%	2,028
13	Mauritania	4,166,463	1%	397,954	6.12%	13,240
14	Gambia	2,054,986	0.5%	3,980	0.06%	0.825
15	Guinea-Bissau	1,888,429	0.5%	13,948	0.21%	1,024
16	Cabo Verde	526,993	0.5%	1,500	0.02%	1,899

Source: Created by author using data from World Population Review, “Population of Countries in Africa 2017,” accessed 29 January 2017, <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/countries-in-africa/>; Daniel Dee Ziankahn, “The Impact of Military Coups on West Africa’s Socio-Economic and Political Development,” (Master’s thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 2011), 3; Statistics Times, “List of Countries by GDP,” 21 October 2016, accessed 4 February 2017, <http://statisticstimes.com/economy/countries-by-projected-gdp.php>.

Current Situation

The people of West Africa have a long history of regional and international population mobility. This migration became a live trend and is usually associated with social ascendancy. Today, in West Africa, “migration stocks relative to the total population have been increasing over the past few decades.”³ Therefore, the number of West African migrants is significant, triggers major consequences of poverty, and creates security issues.

The source of migration in West Africa originated at the time of the first settlement. This occurred following the 1974 discovery of the 3.2-million-year-old fossil, *Australopithecus Afarensis* Lucy, in Ethiopia. The belief is that this fossil is the ancestor of the human being.⁴ All of the West African population came from East Africa, which explains the similarity of cultures in Africa. In addition to this, the major reason for migration is the introduction of slavery at the time of the great empire “when an external demand for enslaved people arose, some African societies could and did supply slaves. There was, for example, an export ‘trade’ in enslaved people, taking them via the Sahara from West to North Africa.”⁵ As kings relied more and more on the exchange of guns for

³ Dr. Joseph A. Yaro, “Migration in West Africa: Patterns, Issues and Challenges” (Paper, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana), accessed 15 October 2016, <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/0cb9/ae9f673fe1c1f73f9e80fe4850f9b0312735.pdf>, 1.

⁴ Melissa Hogenboom, “The Remote Lake that Tells the Story of Humanity’s Birth,” *BBC*, 7 December 2015, accessed 19 April 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/earth/story/20151207-the-remote-lake-that-tells-the-story-of-humanitys-birth>.

⁵ Harm J. De Blij and Peter O. Muller, *Geography: Realms, Regions, and Concepts*, 11th ed. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 2003), on The Official Website of Cabinda Free State, “The Scramble for Africa: Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 to Divide

slaves to expand their territories, slavery became a high priority. Consequently, people constantly moved to safer areas.

In addition to security, economics is another reason for migration. West Africa is a region where trade flourished. Even before the imperialists, West Africa was organized in kingdoms. The most important activity was trade among these kingdoms and between the kingdoms and Arab traders. With the creation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the development of new technology, the majority of the trade activities increased significantly. Therefore, people are likely to live where they can easily invest. This explains the migration of the population of hinterland countries like Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger to countries with seaports.

Regardless of the culture, the partition of Africa during the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, and the repartition of the population contributed to migration. This repartition was only in the interests of colonialists. “Bismarck wanted not only to expand German spheres of influence in Africa but also to play Germany’s colonial rivals against one another to the Germans’ advantage.”⁶ The line established by the colonialists divided the people. For example, the ethnic group Ewe is spread between Ghana, Togo, and Benin. The same problem exists with the ethnic group Yoruba in Nigeria, Benin, and Togo. These people, divided by the colonialists, are still united by culture, belief, and attitude as if there are no boundaries between countries. It is then common to see someone crossing the border to carry out his daily activities.

Africa,” Government of Cabinda, accessed 23 March 2017, http://www.cabinda.net/Berlin_Conference.htm.

⁶ Ibid.

In addition to these issues, West African countries face multiple challenges and threats that trigger migration. Among those challenges are security concerns with the rise of intrastate conflicts, and the increase of armed robbery and criminal groups. There is also climate change resulting in scarce resources and a difficult economic condition. Although each country develops its homeland security strategy to address the migration issue, the situation has not improved much. This is mostly due to sympathy for people living along the coast and the lack of a strong policy.

During the last decade, two important events set an urgent tone for better border control. First were the two attacks that Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb claimed responsibility for at Cappuccino Café in Burkina Faso on 15 January 2016 that resulted in eighteen deaths and on Grand Bassam Beach in Ivory Coast on 13 March 2016, which resulted in sixteen deaths.⁷ This group, based in the north of Mali travelled over 2,000 kilometers without detection by any security force. The second was a health-related event. An Ebola outbreak caused the death of 4,809 in Liberia; 3,956 in Sierra Leone; and 2,543 in Guinea.⁸ Figure 2 depicts how the Ebola disease moved from Guinea to Liberia and Sierra Leone in four months from March to June 2014. Although control measures

⁷ Jemila Abdulai, "Terrorism in Cote d'Ivoire: How Many More Attacks before a Regional Strategy and Action," LinkedIn, 14 March 2016, accessed 12 December 2016, <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/terrorism-c%C3%B4te-divoire-how-many-more-attacks-before-regional-abdulai>.

⁸ Olivia Simone, "Two Years Later the Effects of the Ebola Crisis on Education Linger," Global Business Coalition for Education, 2016, accessed 12 December 2016, https://www.google.com/webhp?sourceid=chrome-instant&ion=1&espv=2&ie=UTF-8#q=Simone,+Olivia,+%E2%80%9CTwo+Years+Later+the+Effects+of+the+Ebola+Crisis+on+Education+Linger.%E2%80%9D+Global+Business+Coalition+for+Education,+2016&*>.

were in place to contain the disease in these three countries, it affected other countries such as Nigeria, Senegal, Spain, and the United States.⁹

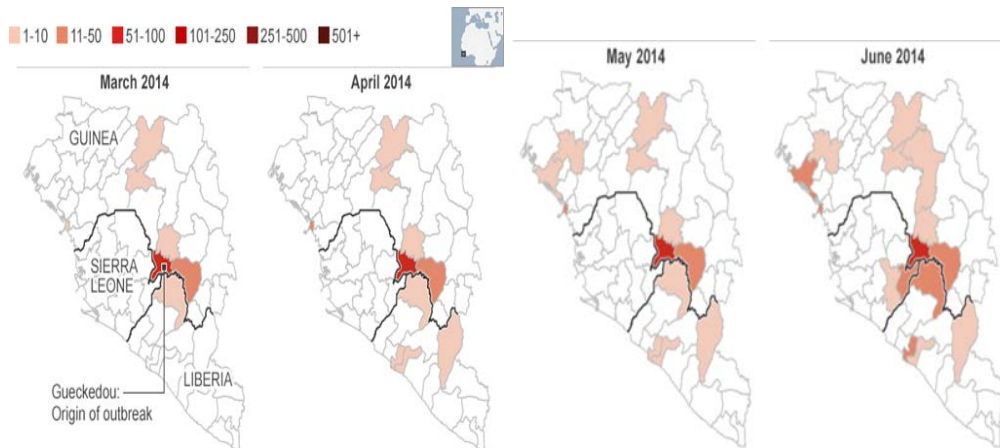


Figure 2. Map of the Outbreak of Ebola

Source: Olivia Simone, “Two Years Later the Effects of the Ebola Crisis on Education Linger,” Global Business Coalition for Education, 2016, accessed 12 December 2016, https://www.google.com/webhp?sourceid=chrome-instant&ion=1&espv=2&ie=UTF-8#q=Simone,+Olivia.+%E2%80%9CTwo+Years+Later+the+Effects+of+the+Ebola+Crisis+on+Education+Linger.%E2%80%9D+Global+Business+Coalition+for+Education,+2016&*.

These two examples show how difficult it is for West African countries to monitor population movement. Therefore, migration is a recurring problem.

Problem Statement

For the past two decades, West African countries faced several challenges. Among them are cross-border insurgency, terrorist activities, internal conflict, an

⁹ Center for Disease Control and Prevention, “2014 Ebola Outbreak in West Africa - Case Count,” accessed 11 December 2016, <https://www.cdc.gov/vhf/ebola/outbreaks/2014-west-africa/case-counts.html>.

economic downfall, and educational issues. This situation caused the displacement of the population. These migrants are sometimes involved in illegal activities. According to an official in Sierra Leone, migrant Igbo who ran away from Nigeria's Biafra war (1967-1970) manage the drug cartel in that country.¹⁰ In addition, the lack of migrant control makes it difficult to contain diseases such as Ebola.¹¹ In order to prevent destabilization of the region, West African countries must use their national power to address this problem as soon as possible. It is imperative for governments to shift from short-term solutions to long-term solutions. In this context, instruments of national power, other than diplomatic, informational, and economic should be leveraged. Therefore, how can governments make effective use of their security force personnel to decrease migration?

Primary Research Question

This research explores the different causes and consequences of migration in West Africa and provides recommendations to deal with these problems. Therefore, this study aims to provide a clear answer to this question: is it possible for security force personnel to cooperate in reducing overall cross-border migration throughout the region?

Secondary Research Questions

In order to address the primary research question, it is necessary to examine three specific issues. First, what is the current civil-military relationship in West African

¹⁰ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *Transnational Organized Crime in the West African Region* (Austria: United Nations, January 2005), 17.

¹¹ Center for Disease Control and Prevention, "2014 Ebola Outbreak in West Africa - Case Count."

countries and how can this relationship be leveraged to solve the migration problem? Second, does the ECOWAS have enough capability to control migration? Third, can security forces of a specific country in West Africa reduce migration?

Assumptions

Due to the current escalation of multiple threats, coupled with the consequences of climate change, migration will continue to challenge West African countries. Leaving the country is synonymous with success or accomplishment. Therefore, although most of the migrants pay extremely high costs, some even with their lives, the candidates for migration are far from discouraged. According to the International Organization for Migration, in 2014, the average number of migrant deaths each year was approximately 1,500. Although some occurred within the host territory, most occurred during the attempt to reach the host nation.¹² The security trend in West Africa dominated by terrorist and criminal organizations fuels the situation. Experts and many scholars addressed the problem by using means of national power. However, they fail to stress the military means. Therefore, this research provides insight into the use of military power to attempt to mitigate migration.

¹² Brian Tara, Frank Laczko, Robin Reineke, Daniel E. Martinez, Tamara Last, Thomas Spijkerboer, Christopher Horwood, Leanne Weber, and Sharon Pickering, *Fatal Journeys Tracking Lives Lost during Migration* (Geneva, Switzerland: International Organization for Migration, 2014), 20.

Definition of Terms

Emigration: Leaving one country to move to another.¹³

External Migration: Moving to a new home in a different state, country, or continent.¹⁴

Immigration: Moving into a new country.¹⁵

Internal Migration: Moving to a new home within a state, country, or continent.¹⁶

Migration: The movement of people from one place in the world to another for the purpose of taking up permanent or semi-permanent residence, usually across a political boundary. An example of “semi-permanent residence” is the seasonal movements of migrant farm laborers. People can choose either to move (“voluntary migration”) or be forced to move (“involuntary migration”).¹⁷

Military Forces: Military forces are the forces that can use all legal means to defend and protect the interest of their nation.¹⁸ The composition of military forces depends on the strategy of each country. If the country has a seacoast, its military forces

¹³ National Geographic, “The Human Story,” National Geographic Society, accessed 12 December 2016, <https://genographic.nationalgeographic.com>.

¹⁴ National Geographic, “The Human Story.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Nancee Hunter, “Introduction to Human Migration,” National Geographic Society, accessed 12 December 2016, <http://www.nationalgeographic.org/activity/introduction-human-migration>.

¹⁸ Wikipedia, “Military,” last modified 11 March 2017, Wikipedia Foundation, 20 October 2016, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military>.

may include coast guard or navy, but the basic composition of African militaries is Army, Air Force, and Navy. Unlike the former British colonies, the former French colonies have a specific unit called gendarmerie that is a police organization that may be part of its military forces. Some countries have their gendarmerie as part of their ministry of the interior. However, countries like the United States have a large military force containing five branches: Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard.

Security Forces: Security forces comprise military forces and paramilitary forces, such as gendarmerie and police. They act as a federal police force whose mission is to provide security for the people. The composition of paramilitary forces is country dependent. They can encompass police officers, migration officers, customs officers, prison guards, and environmental protection officers.

U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS): The DHS is a department in charge of securing the nation from many threats. It employs more than 40,000 personnel including aviation, border security, emergency response, cybersecurity analyst, chemical facility inspector, and others.¹⁹

Limitations

There are several limitations to this research. The time allocated to this research is limited due to the complexity of the subject and the concomitance with the Command and General Staff College course. Although most of the information was on-line, the research could have been completed in West Africa in order to incorporate interviews of

¹⁹ Homeland Security, "About DHS," U.S. Department of Homeland Security, accessed 12 February 2017, <https://www.dhs.gov/about-dhs>.

politicians, security personnel, and immigrants. To address the problem of migrants more efficiently, there must be a synergy of all instruments of national power. However, this research is restricted to military/security force contribution.

Scope and Delimitations

In order to adjust this research to the timeframe available, the study is limited to the last two decades, from January 1997 to January 2017. The research is geographically limited to West Africa, although there is a comparison case study with the U.S. strategy to cope with the problem of migration. Even though the research is based on the West Africa region, not all the countries involved are assessed. The research focuses on the strategy that countries in West Africa can adopt individually and collectively. Therefore, the outcome of the research is not applied to the whole continent. The research does not cover the economic reasons for migration; it only focuses on security reasons. Finally, the author does not cover facility and policy in the assessment of the ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF) capability.

Significance of Study

This topic is significant to the military profession and other scholars for three main reasons. First, it contributes to enhancing peace and security in the region by monitoring the displacement of the population. In fact, for the past decade, West Africa has been one of the most unstable regions in the world. This is mainly due to the rebel groups' activities in the north of Mali claiming Azawad territory, and the Islamic group Boko Haram in the north of Nigeria. In addition, the rise of Ebola in Sierra Leone and Liberia contributed to the instability of the region. Second, the topic contributes to

building a strong civil-military relationship. Presently, this relationship is very fragile because the image of the military in that region is associated with military coups. Since their independence in the 1960s through 2004, West African countries recorded or witnessed forty successful military coups and eighty failed coup attempts.²⁰ Finally, the research tries to fill a gap in literature by exploring other means to deal with the migration issue in West Africa.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of West Africa. It familiarized the reader with the countries in West Africa, their population, and their economy. Importantly, this part depicted the evolution and the problem of the migration phenomenon. In addition, the guidelines of the research were stated in terms of limitations and delimitations. Chapter 2 identifies and assesses literature related to the topic.

²⁰ Kokou Oyome Kemence, “Understanding the Root Causes of Military Coups and Governmental Instability in West Africa” (Master’s thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, December 2013), 1.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This study examines how security force personnel can cooperate in reducing overall cross-border migration throughout the region. The recent security issues in West Africa increased interest in the topic of migration. Therefore, many authors contributed to enhancing understanding the migration phenomenon. Although the publications are vast and diverse, they are separated into two categories. The first category provides insight on the migration trend by stating the causes and consequences of migration. The second category targets the effort undertaken in West Africa to reduce migration.

Understanding the Migration Phenomenon: Causes and Consequences of Migration

The West African region has a relatively peaceful history compared to the other African regions. Recently however, this area is threatened by increasing instability. This instability is the synergy of many factors with one of the most important being the inability of the countries to control their borders. Given this type of challenge, Paul D. Williams, in his article “Security Culture, Transnational Challenges and the Economic Community of West African States,”²¹ provides insight about cross-border security. He argues that this challenge encompasses cross-border insurgency, the spread of malaria, arms and drug trafficking, and terrorist groups’ activities.

²¹ Paul D. Williams, “Security Culture, Transnational Challenges and the Economic Community of West African States,” *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 26 (June 2008): 18.

In the past two decades, these threats have been enforced by the phenomenon of migration. The risk of migration is not particular to West Africa. In his thesis, “The Impact of Illegal and Legal Migration on the Defense of South Africa,”²² Bennie Maloy portrays the security consequences of migration. He advocates that migrants driven by the mining economy of South Africa, come to that country without any background or relatives in the area. Therefore, some of them become unemployed or homeless. To survive, they become involved in criminal activities such as drug or arms trafficking, or criminal organizations. In addition, those who find jobs are often exploited by their employers or are victims of xenophobia actions.

Some authors, such as Aderanti Adepoju, explore the history to gain an insight into migration. In *Migration in West Africa*,²³ he states that migration is not a new trend and was occurring at the time of the great empires. Following the nationalist ideology on the eve of independence, many countries opted for the repatriation of migrants. However, after the adaptation of the ECOWAS “Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Residence, and Establishment,” on 29 May 1979, the migration intensified. Most migrants chose to travel to Nigeria, Ghana, and Ivory Coast. After the economic crises in these countries, their population started to develop a xenophobia ideology against migrants. In fact, the

²² Bennie Maloy, “The Impact of Illegal and Legal Migration on the Defense of South Africa” (Strategy Research Project, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA, 19 March 2012).

²³ Aderanti Adepoju, “Migration in West Africa” (Paper for Policy, Analysis and Research Programme, Global Commission on International Migration, Geneva, Switzerland, September 2005).

citizens of these countries believe that migrants are the reason for the lack of security and are to blame for unemployment because they are taking their jobs.

In addition to their involvement in criminal organizations and the xenophobia of the host nation, the hardships faced by the candidates for migration constitute another challenge. This is the point Tara Brian and Frank Laczko develop in *Fatal Journey: Tracking Lives Lost during Migration*.²⁴ Their manuscript provides casualty and death statistics for migrants all over the world. They mainly study the route of migration within West Africa, from Africa to Europe crossing the Mediterranean, from the Horn of Africa to Yemen, and from Mexico to the United States. Their finding is that, regardless of their route, most of the migrants perish during the journey. The most dangerous route is crossing the Mediterranean with 3,072 deaths. Even though the mortality rate of migrants within West Africa is lower than those crossing the Mediterranean, it is still significant. To have a broad picture, this number must be added to the number of migrant deaths in the country of destination. These mishaps do not discourage the migrants. On the contrary, there is a new type of candidate for migration.

Similarly, Aderanti Adepoju, in “Fostering Free Movement of Persons in West Africa: Achievement, Constraints, and Prospects for Intraregional Migration,”²⁵ believes that the increased hardships force women and children to migrate. These women and children become victims of trafficking and other types of abuse, or turn to prostitution.

²⁴ Tara et al., 26.

²⁵ Aderanti Adepoju, “Fostering Free Movement of Persons in West Africa: Achievement, Constraints, and Prospects for Intraregional Migration,” *International Migration* 40, no. 2 (June 2002): 3-28.

Given the danger faced by the migrant in their adventure, the question is, what are the causes of migration? One of the secondary research questions provides an answer.

In “Fostering Free Movement of Persons in West Africa: Achievements Constraints, and Prospects for Intraregional Migration,”²⁶ Aderanti Adepoju provides an epilogue of the causes of migration. While security was the main reason for migration in the past, the current causes of migration are more diverse. He targets security, economy, and other reasons such as intellectual and political migration. For him, economic migration is due to the scarcity of farmland and lack of employment opportunities. The reasons exposed here are similar to those Bennie Maloy develops in “The Impact of Illegal and Legal Migration on the Defense Security of South Africa.”²⁷ He states that South Africa is the leading country in Southern Africa in terms of economy. Therefore, it becomes attractive to people in the surrounding countries.

Approach of a Solution to Migration

Given the consequences, migration becomes a critical issue that must be addressed in a timely manner. This thought spurred some authors to expand their knowledge about what each country or the international community must do to solve the problem. In “The ASF and AFRICOM: Partnering for Peace in Africa,”²⁸ Daniel Kolva describes the African Union’s efforts to raise five regional Africa Standby Forces (ASF).

²⁶ Adepoju, “Fostering Free Movement of Persons in West Africa.”

²⁷ Maloy.

²⁸ Daniel Kolva, “The ASF and AFRICOM: Partnering for Peace in Africa” (Report, Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA, February 2011).

These forces provide more peace and security. He assesses the capacities and weaknesses of each brigade. Finally, he looks at the relationship the United States has with these brigades. The relationship between U.S. Africa Command and these regional organizations is mainly in military support for the Center of Excellence and sharing information.

Ike Danielle Beswick has the same approach in his book, *The Risks of African Military Capacity Building: Lessons from Rwanda*.²⁹ Using the case study of Rwanda, he explains why some countries lack the means to deal with a security problem like migration. He advocates that due to the poverty of African countries, donors mainly administer the structure of their military capabilities. This happens through various programs such as America's Africa Contingency Operations Training Assistance and France's *Renforcement des capacités African de Maintien de la Paix*. However, before deciding to invest, these donors assess each country based on its history of coups, the military support to the authoritarian regime, human rights violations, and their involvement in the destabilization of another state. This puts huge limitations on the capabilities of the African countries to equip and train their security forces.

Daniel Dee Ziankahn, in "The Impact of Military Coups on West Africa's Socio-Economic and Political Development,"³⁰ has a different approach. He thinks civil-military relationships put a severe restriction on the ability to solve the migration

²⁹ Danielle Beswick, *The Risks of African Military Capacity Building: Lessons From Rwanda* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

³⁰ Daniel Dee Ziankahn, "The Impact of Military Coups on West Africa's Socio-Economic and Political Development" (Master's thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 2011).

problem. He argues that after the independence of ex-colonies, the educated people controlled the politics of their countries. To enhance their power, they used security forces as the instrument of coercion against each other and their people. As the situation progressed, the security forces became powerful and began to seize power. Almost all West African countries experienced coups or attempted coups. The seizure of authority by these military forces was the darkest days for these countries. He demonstrates that the human rights violations, killing or kidnapping opponents to the regime, and the centralization of power was the achievement of a successful military regime in Nigeria.³¹

Although the politics of the country limits the investment of donors, some authors still believe in external cooperation to deal with the problem. This is the main idea in the French *Defense Journal Partenaires Sécurité Défense*, no. 273.³² This article, “Dossier Special” describes the different projects undertaken by France in West African countries to overcome the gap in their effectiveness and efficiency to deal with security and social problems. In that context, the Support to Training Domestic Security Forces in Africa promotes training and enforces security structure. The Justice and Security in the Sahel-Saharan Region helps build the capacity of law enforcement agencies such as police, justice, and customs. Finally, the Civil Development Assistance Service provides a service for the civilian in the military environment.

³¹ Ziankahn,

³² Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Direction de la coopération de sécurité et de défense, “Dossier Special,” *Defense Journal Partenaires Sécurité Défense*, no. 273 (December 2013): 16-17, accessed 14 March 2017, http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/IMG/pdf/PSD_273_cle033517.pdf.

The Cause-Effect Relationship between Migration and Security Force Performance in Mali

To understand how the military can reduce migration, the authors address how the attitude of the military can cause the migration. In this context, the case study on Mali is the best illustration. Diarra Oumar and Matthieu Nicolas Guerrero agree that the failure of the military to control the north of Mali contributed to the conflict resulting in migration. However, they diverge on the root cause of migration.

In “Insecurity and Instability in the Sahel Region: The Case Study of Mali,”³³ Diarra Oumar advocates that the Mali conflict stems from the regional rivalry. The lack of real cooperation between the Sahel countries provided the rebel groups with the opportunity to set up their safe haven at the borders of Mali, Mauritania, Algeria, and Libya. Consequently, after the overthrow of the Gaddafi regime in Libya, most rebel groups involved in the Libya battle moved from Libya to Mali with heavy weapons and ammunition. The author believes that the biggest problem of Mali instability is on two levels: a lack of political will to foster cooperation, and the inability of Mali security forces to control its border.

In “Understanding Mali: Lessons for Policy Makers,”³⁴ Matthieu Nicolas Guerrero believes that the Mali conflict is due to internal problems. He blames the colonialists who divided Africa without any concern for the demographic repartition. In

³³ Diarra Oumar, “Insecurity and Instability in the Sahel Region: The Case Study of Mali” (Strategy Research Project, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA, 2012).

³⁴ Matthieu Nicolas Guerrero, “Understanding Mali: Lessons for Policy Makers” (Master’s thesis, School of Advanced Air and Space Studies, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, AL, 2014).

the case of Mali, the situation is more complicated because the country was also demographically divided: the northern part populated by minority Touareg, and the south by the black population. After the country's independence, the colonialists put the reins of the country in the hands of black people. Hence, the central government started to neglect the minority Touareg. Because of the hardships in that region, the Touareg began trafficking drugs, arms, and even humans to survive. This provided them with a means to claim their unity by creating their sovereign territory called Azawad. The military showed their dissatisfaction with the government by conducting coups, and this in turn assisted the rebels. According to this author, the Mali conflict is related more to internal problems. Lawrence E. Cline shares this point of view in "Nomads, Islamists, and Soldiers: The Struggles for Northern Mali,"³⁵ He establishes the cause-effect relationship between migration and security. For him, the shortcoming in security results in the war that triggers the migration of 370,000 people. This failure is due to the lack of equipment, organization, training, and willingness of the security personnel to fight.

The U.S. Strategy to Face the Migration Issue:
Direct and Indirect Approach

The United States has two different broad approaches to deal with migration: direct and indirect. The first focuses on action within the United States to prevent people from leaving the country or coming into the country illegally. The second approach relates to stability operations in foreign countries that can create positive conditions necessary to prevent citizens from leaving their country.

³⁵ Lawrence E. Cline, "Nomads, Islamists, and Soldiers: The Struggles for Northern Mali," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 36, no. 2 (2013): 617-634.

Jeffrey D. Stalnaker develops the direct approach in “An Analysis of the Development and the Effectiveness of the United States Border Patrol Strategic Plan, 1994-2013.”³⁶ In his thesis, the author asserts that the border patrol plan evolved as the threat faced by the United States became uncertain and multidimensional. He assesses the three strategies developed by border security since 1924. His finding is that the major event that generated the revision of these strategies was the attack of 11 September 2011, which triggered creation of the DHS. This agency, aimed at protecting U.S. citizens, has seven core functions. In the same vein, Georgia Republican Doug Collins in his article, “Should US Refuge Admission Policy Be Toughened?”³⁷ balances advantage against disadvantage for hosting refugees from the Middle East. He expresses grave concern about allowing migration to the United States because it is likely to affect national security.

In the press release, “DHS and DOD Announce Continued Partnership in Strengthening Southwest Border Security,” the DHS Press Secretary stresses the new partnership between the Department of Defense (DOD) and the DHS. The DOD supports the DHS by providing the latest multi-purpose surveillance and reconnaissance

³⁶ Jeffrey D. Stalnaker, “An Analysis of the Development and the Effectiveness of the United States Border Patrol Strategic Plan, 1994-2013” (Master’s thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 2013).

³⁷ Doug Collins, “Should US Refuge Admission Policy Be Toughened?” *Congressional Digest* (January 2016), accessed 20 October 2016, <http://congressionaldigest.com/issue/refugee-resettlement/honorable-doug-collins/#gsc.tab=0>.

capabilities. In addition, the DOD provides air mobility support to the Border Patrol, by increasing the ability to operate in diverse landscapes and reducing reaction time.³⁸

One of the indirect contributions of the United States to prevent massive migration was to fight against Ebola. In his article, “Why US Deploying the Military to Fight Ebola?”³⁹ Peter Grier estimates the number of U.S. military deployed in support of the Liberian government’s efforts to fight Ebola at 3,000. During Operation United Assistance, these forces provided medical and logistic support to help in the treatment of Ebola. They not only provided health care clinics, but trained health care providers. The U.S. Army was the organization most capable to face this emergency. “Fighting Ebola: An Interagency Collaboration Paradigm,”⁴⁰ explains the contribution of the U.S. military to the fight against Ebola. It also discusses the four tasks of Joint Force Commander-United Assistance: construct Ebola treatment units, train indigenous and international healthcare workers, build healthcare worker-specific Ebola treatment units, and sustain collective Ebola logistic requirements. It emphasizes the training and composition of the

³⁸ Office of the Press Secretary, Homeland Security, “DHS and DOD Announce Continued Partnership in Strengthening Southwest Border Security,” U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 20 December 2011, accessed 4 February 2017, <https://www.dhs.gov/news/2011/12/20/dhs-and-dod-announce-continued-partnership-strengthening-southwest-border-security>.

³⁹ Peter Grier, “Why US Deploying the Military to Fight Ebola?” *Christian Science Monitor* (2014), accessed 14 March 2017, <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Politics/DC-Decoder/2014/0916/Why-is-US-deploying-the-military-to-fight-Ebola-video> Why US Deploying The Military To Fight Ebola?

⁴⁰ General Joseph F. Dunford quoted in Ross F. Lightsey, “Fighting Ebola: An Interagency Collaboration Paradigm,” *Joint Force Quarterly* no. 81 (2nd Quarter 2016): 62-64, accessed 11 December 2016, <http://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/jfq/jfq-81/jfq-81.pdf>.

joint force. A distinct emphasis is on civil-military relationships and the snapshot of partners. These partners were the U.S. interagency community and the DOD, international organizations, host-nation organizations and military, other DOD agencies, and National Ebola Command.

Chapter Summary and Conclusion

This chapter enhanced the understanding of the phenomenon of migration by exploring the thoughts of different authors. There is a great amount of research on the causes and consequences of migration. However, few writers attempt to find solutions, especially military solutions, to deter migration. Nevertheless, this literature constitutes the backbone of the research. Chapter 3 discusses the methodology used to address the research questions.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to answer the question: is it possible for security force personnel to cooperate in reducing overall cross-border migration throughout the West Africa region? Chapter 1 explored the current migration issue and presented the primary and secondary research questions. Chapter 2 reviewed literature covering the causes and consequences of migration, the capabilities and limitations for security forces to address this problem. This chapter discusses the different methodologies applied to answer the research questions. These answers are the backbone of the author's recommendations for increasing the effectiveness of security forces to deal with the migration problem.

The author uses a qualitative case study methodology. "Qualitative methods are also effective in identifying intangible factors, such as social norms, socioeconomic status, gender roles, ethnicity, and religion, whose role in the research issue may not be readily apparent."⁴¹ Qualitative methodology, designed to explain a relationship between security forces and the migration issue, encompasses several steps.

The first step describes civil-military relations in West Africa. These relationships, which have existed since the independence, evolved and influenced the socio-economics and politics of the countries. It analyzes these relationships based on the

⁴¹ Natasha Mack, Cynthia Woodson, Kathleen M. Macqueen, Greg Guest, and Emily Namey, "Module 1 Qualitative Research Methods Overview," in *Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide* (Research Park Triangle, NC: Family Health International, 2005), accessed 4 December 2016, <https://www.fhi360.org/sites/default/files/media/documents/Qualitative%20Research%20Methods%20-%20A%20Data%20Collector's%20Field%20Guide.pdf>, 1.

contribution of the security forces, especially in the area of politics; Nigeria, Niger, and Liberia serve as examples. In fact, the military strongly influences the political environments of these countries. The assessment serves as the cornerstone to leverage this relationship to address the problem of migration. Depending on the finding, the solution may range from a total change in relationships to a slight modification.

The second step examines ESF created to enhance peace and security. These forces are analyzed using the DOD's process to identify gaps in joint capability: DOTMLP or doctrine, organization, training, material, leadership, and personnel. Doctrine is the fundamental principles that guide employment of military forces toward an objective.⁴² Organization of the force includes the organization of the hierarchy, the contribution of troops from different countries, and the state of the forces. Training refers to the level of skill and expertise. Materiel is the equipment needed such as vehicles and weapons. This is a serious issue because deterring migration requires advanced technology and materiel due to the porosity of the borders. Leadership concerns how to direct and motivate to achieve a goal. Personnel are the human strength of the organization.

This research examines the contribution of the personnel of West Africa countries to determine the current strength. To assess this capacity of ECOWAS the research is based on evaluation criteria. Each element of DOTMLP is examined through the evaluation criteria. The researcher will aggregate the result of all elements as shown in Table 2 to determine the strength and weakness in order to address them.

⁴² Director, Joint Staff, Joint Publication 1, *Doctrine for the Armed Forces of the United States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 25 March 2013), IX.

Table 2. Evaluation Criteria of the ESF

DOMAIN	CRITERIA	Yes	No
Doctrine	Does the doctrine enable security forces to mitigate migration threat?		
Organization	Is the security forces organization effective for conducting security operations?		
Training	Do the ESF have sufficient training and education to conduct effective security operations?		
Materiel	Do the security forces have sufficient materiel to effectively control their borders?		
Leadership	Does the leadership understand the migration in order to conduct effective security operations?		
Personnel	Are there enough personnel to set a condition to deter migration?		

Source: Created by author.

The second methodology is based on the operational approach to link current situation and end state. The comparative case study between the strategy of Mali and the United States to limit threat caused by migration serves as an illustration. For two decades Mali has been an example of democracy in West Africa. In fact, Mali has successfully organized free and fair elections and carried on political decentralization. In addition, Mali undertook some fiscal and market reforms recommended by the

International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.⁴³ Unfortunately, this evolution was undermined by the inability of Mali security forces to protect the Mali border. Therefore, since 2012, control of the northern part by rebels coming from neighboring countries hampered this achievement. This insecurity caused the migration of people from Mali. Mali is compared to the United States, not only because the United States is the top destination of migration—in 2015, the total number of migrants to the United States was 46,627,000⁴⁴—but migration and border control are one of the main objectives of President Donald Trump.

The visual framework of that operational approach is in figure 3. This study is organized around two lines of effort: effective border control and establishment of a peaceful environment. “A line of effort (LOE) links multiple tasks and missions using the logic of purpose—cause and effect—to focus efforts toward establishing operational and strategic conditions.”⁴⁵ Therefore, in order to have an effective line of effort, each line must be supported by objectives that link it to the end state.

It is important to control a border if a country wants to assess and deter migration. However, this endeavor must meet objectives such as adaptable doctrine, sufficient

⁴³ Michael Bratton, Massa Coulibaly, and Fabiana Machado, “Popular Perceptions of Good Governance in Mali” (Afrobarometer Paper No. 9, Michigan State University, Institute for Democracy in South Africa, and Centre for Democracy and Development, Cape Town, South Africa, March 2000), accessed 19 March 2017, <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/98370/AfropaperNo9.pdf>.

⁴⁴ Migration Policy Institute, “Top 25 Destinations of International Migrants,” accessed 19 March 2017, <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/charts/top-25-destinations-international-migrants>.

⁴⁵ Director, Joint Staff, Joint Publication 5-0, *Joint Operation Planning* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 11 August 2011), III-28.

materiel capability, and adequate training. Doctrine is crucial because it serves as a guideline of security operations by stating some standard operating procedures. Even with good doctrine, a country still needs sufficient and adequate materiel. This materiel issue is relevant due to the development of hybrid or unconventional warfare based on advanced technology. Training is the means to prepare troops physically, mentally, and technically to face any adversity.

The second line of effort, establishment of a peaceful environment, has two objectives: build security cooperation within national security component, and enhance security cooperation among neighboring countries. If the security forces build and maintain peaceful environment, there should be fewer candidates for migration.

After defining objectives along each line of effort, each objective is assessed using the evaluation criteria. The choice of the evaluation criteria is in relation to the degree to which security forces are involved in deterring migration. “Evaluation criteria determine if the course of action is the best COA to accomplish the mission.”⁴⁶ The evaluation criteria assesses if security forces from Mali or the United States are suitable to mitigate the threat of migration. Table 3 depicts the set of criteria used to determine if the security forces are little effective, moderately effective, or explicitly effective in their attempt mitigate migration threat. Effectiveness is “The extent to which the development

⁴⁶ Jack D. Kem, “Planning for Action: Campaign Concepts and Tools” (Handbook, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 2012), accessed 17 January 2017, <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a564371.pdf>, 223.

intervention's objectives were achieved, or are expected to be achieved, taking into account their relative importance.”⁴⁷

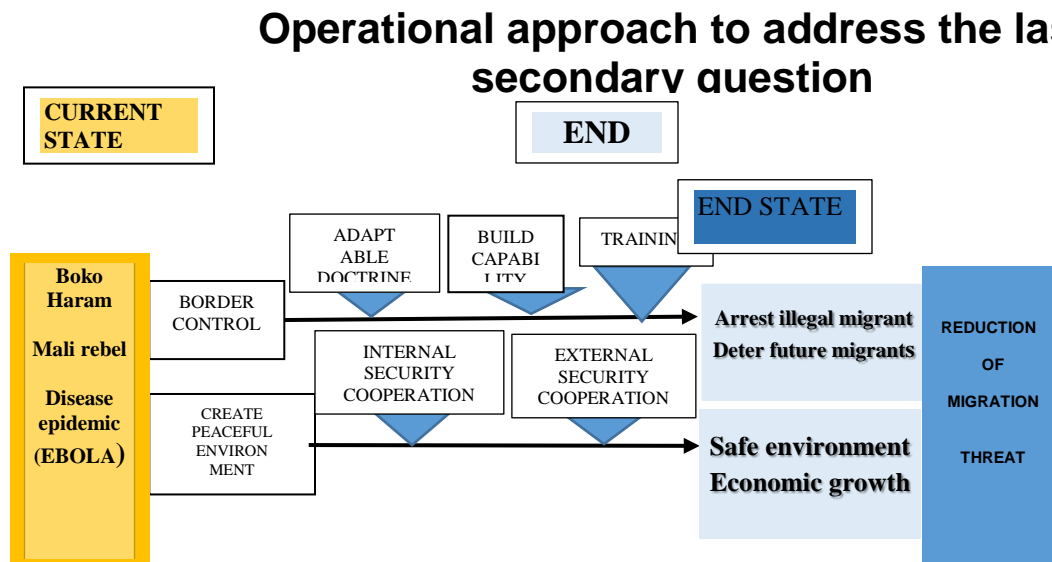


Figure 3. Portray Line of Effort

Source: Created by author.

The comparison between these two countries is at the level of each criterion and then all the criteria are aggregated for final analysis. Each criterion is assigned a number depending on the weight the author gave to them. A lower number corresponds to the less important criteria, and a higher number to the more important criteria.

⁴⁷ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, “Chapter 4: Evaluation Questions,” Internet Information Services, accessed 17 January 2017, <http://www.netpublikationer.dk/um/7571/html/chapter05.htm>.

Table 3. Evaluation Criteria

LOE	Criteria	Country	Little effective (1)	Moderately effective (2)	Explicitly effective (3)
BORDER CONTROL	Is the current doctrine suitable for deterring migration?	MALI			
		U.S.			
	Do the security forces have adequate materiel capabilities?	MALI			
		U.S.			
	Do the security forces have adequate training to secure borders?	MALI			
		U.S.			
CREATE PEACEFUL ENVIRONMENT	How effective is the cooperation among security components of a country in creating a peaceful environment?	MALI			
		U.S.			
	How effective is the cooperation between security components of neighboring countries in creating a peaceful environment?	MALI			
		U.S.			

Source: Created by author.

Chapter Summary

The research describes the methods used to answer the primary and secondary questions. The focus is qualitative analysis through a case study comparing the migration strategy of security personnel in Mali and the United States. This research will provide recommendations to improve the capability of West African security forces to reduce migration in their effort to provide security. Chapter 4 focuses on the analysis of these variables.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter presents and analyzes data to answer the primary research question: is it possible for security force personnel to cooperate in reducing overall cross-border migration throughout the region? The qualitative studies will help answer two secondary research questions. The first question is, what is the current civil-military relationship in West African countries and how can this relationship be leveraged to solve the migration problem? The second question is, does ECOWAS have enough capability to control migration? The comparative case study between Mali and the United States addressed the third question; can security forces of a specific country in West Africa reduce migration?

Leverage of Civil-Military Relationship to Mitigate Migration

Current Civil-Military Relationship Assessment

The West Africa region has experienced the most troublesome civil-military relations in Africa. This relationship began during the period of colonialism. In fact, before the arrival of colonialists, the military and civilians had a good relationship. The military institution's main purpose was to protect people from invasion and slavery. This situation changed when the imperialists began using military personnel to implement their policies. In fact, military forces coerced indigenous people to build roads, railroads, pay taxes, or remove local rulers who were unwilling to comply with the new order.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Candice Goucher, Charles LeGuin, and Linda Walton, "The Tentacles of Empire: The New Imperialism and New Nationalism in Asia, Africa, and the Americas," in *In the Balance: Themes in Global History* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1998), accessed 15

Independence did not alleviate this situation. Following independence, there was a rivalry among political parties, and between political leaders and the population. The ruling party often used the military to oppress its opponents or dominate its population. Most of the time, this situation resulted in a military coup d'état.⁴⁹ From their independence in the 1960s to 2004, West African countries registered 120 coups or attempted coups, and most of them were military coups.⁵⁰ These military coups triggered the involvement of the military in the political life of the country.

Most experiences of military involvement in politics have resulted in setbacks in the development of the countries. For example, successive military regimes that did not really contribute to the country's development ruled Nigeria from 1983 to 1999.⁵¹ Human rights violations characterized General Muhamadu Buhari's reign (1983-1985), and General Ibrahim Babangida (1985-1993) forcibly removed him from power. While this reign slightly improved human rights, it emptied the coffers of the nation with its imprudent spending of public funds and corruption.⁵² General Sani Abacha's reign (1993-1998) was one of terror. He persecuted all his political opponents and closed down

January 2017, https://www.learner.org/courses/worldhistory/support/reading_20_2.pdf, 4.

⁴⁹ Ziankahn, iv.

⁵⁰ Kemence, 1.

⁵¹ Ziankahn, 33.

⁵² Ibid., 37.

the media. In 1995, despite an international appeal, he hung political activist, Ken Saro-Wiwa, and nine other prominent people from the Ogoni ethnic group.⁵³

In the past decade, the situation did not improve at all. The military is still involved in politics. As an example, one can recall the military coups in Guinea and Mali. The reign of the military in Guinea is infamous for its participation in the massacre of 28 September 2009. According to Human Rights Watch, the presidential guard and gendarmerie perpetrated this massacre during a peaceful rally, which resulted in the killing of 250 people and twenty-seven sexual violations.⁵⁴ The 2012 military coup in Mali, that weakened its political institution, was one of the causes for the invasion of half of the country by rebel groups.

In light of the above, serious problems undermine the civil-military relationship. This current situation does not favor a joint civil-military effort to address migration. However, some principles such as good communication and assistance can greatly contribute to overcoming the situation.

Civil-Military Relations as a Means to Deter Migration

Most of the tension between civilians and the military relates to the misunderstanding and misperception of military activities. In fact, the military institution is very obscure because of secrecy. However, good communication fosters trust and

⁵³ Ibid., 41.

⁵⁴ Human Rights Watch, “Guinea: September 28 Massacre Was Premeditated,” *Reuters*, 27 October 2009, accessed 23 December 2016, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2009/10/27/guinea-september-28-massacre-was-premeditated>.

builds a strong relationship.⁵⁵ Except for activities related to national strategy, military organizations must disclose their activities to the people. Moreover, they must seek the approval of civil authorities before taking any action. Senegal's military institution invites journalists to spend several days in the barracks to acclimatize to the military lifestyle. In addition, they emphasize public visits to the barracks as a means to inform people about military activities and their contribution to the national goal.⁵⁶

The military must actively participate in the wellbeing of its population. They must create conditions favorable to the development of their community. This is a major factor because most migration is due to poverty. In Senegal for example, the high success of military specialists in fighting HIV-AIDS has contributed to fostering good civil-military relations.

Moreover, the military participates in the development of agriculture by building retention basins and artificial lakes. This is one of the greatest achievements because agriculture represents one of the main economic activities of the country. The military organizations also participate in education through two institutions: the *Ecole Polytechnique de Thies* and the *Ecole de Santé Militaire de Dakar*. The first trains civil and military engineers and the second trains military medical personnel. It is important to mention the National Civic Service program as a military contribution to education. This

⁵⁵ Leigh Richards, "How Effective Communication Will Help an Organization," *Chron*, accessed 24 December 2016, <http://smallbusiness.chron.com/effective-communication-organization-1400.html>.

⁵⁶ Biram Diop, "Civil-Military Relations in Senegal," in *Military Engagement: Influencing Armed Forces Worldwide to Support Democratic Transitions*, ed. Dennis Blair (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2013), 245.

joint civil-military program is responsible for civic education for Senegalese youth under supervision of the Youth Ministry.⁵⁷

When there is a good civil-military relationship, the two entities can fully cooperate in deterring migration. The most important contribution of civilians is sharing information with security forces. All national boundaries are porous because of their common history, but more importantly because of the lack of resources capable of securing long land or maritime borders. How can a country like Mali that covers 1,240,000 square kilometers (478,767 square miles), and shares 7,243 kilometers (4,661 miles) of border,⁵⁸ be defended by 12,570 personnel (6,900 Army; 70 Naval service; 800 Air Force; and 4,800 Paramilitary)?⁵⁹ To do so, there must be a heavy reliance on intelligence to fill the gap in personnel. However, due to the level of poverty, human intelligence assets are the most preferred. Therefore, in Mali, civilians integrate more into the defense system. With a total number of 3,000,⁶⁰ these militias track the activity and movement of criminal organizations and provide security information.

Even in a small country like Togo, no successful control exists without the assistance of the local population. It is common to have as much as 200 kilometers between two military posts on the border. The intervals between these posts are areas of

⁵⁷ Ibid., 243-244.

⁵⁸ Nations Encyclopedia, "Mali Armed Forces," Advameg, accessed 24 December 2016, <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Africa/Mali-ARMED-FORCES>.

⁵⁹ Guy Martin and Anton Kruger, "Mali Military," 8 August 2013, accessed 24 December 2016, http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=31482:mali-military.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

smuggling and trafficking, and only the local population can provide accurate information about the smugglers' activities. Local district and sub-district authorities are requested to inform the local police about any new arrivals in the area. It is a system of spider webs because the local civilian authorities collect information from tribal leaders and work closely with military organization by providing accurate information about new settlers.

In addition to providing the information, civilians can provide security to complement the activities of defense forces in creating a peaceful environment to prevent migration. In West Africa, the auto-defense organization against Boko Haram is very active. In countries like Nigeria that can barely control its territory, these auto-defense organizations are very welcome. Managed by the local population, these organizations protect life and property in their localities against Boko Haram attacks. Following several Boko Haram attacks on Nigerian villages on 4 August 2015, local self-defense militia counterattacked and stopped an assault of the Boko Haram militia.⁶¹

These local auto-defense organizations are devoted to their activities. However, the lack of leadership and training can impede their actions. Local auto-defense organizations tend to turn their positive actions into actions for profit by dealing drugs and trafficking arms. In fact, they see these illegal activities as their main source of supply. It is therefore common to record clashes between these militias and security forces. Military forces need to assist these local security forces by providing them with

⁶¹ Fred Lambert, "Suspected Boko Haram Attacks on Villages in Nigeria and Cameroon Kill 15," United Press International, 4 August 2015, accessed 21 February 2017, http://www.upi.com/Top_News/World-News/2016/01/31/Suspected-Boko-Haram-attack-kills-50-in-northeastern-Nigeria/5931454268722.

training. This training will foster their skills and leadership because any armed personnel who lack these two skills is a danger. In addition, security forces can provide means to support these auto-defense organizations. Otherwise, they will continue trafficking to support their organization, which will lead to more insecurity.

Civil-military relations have been undermined for long time. However, with the multiplicity and the versatile character of the actual threat, these relationships must be reevaluated. This process cannot produce the expected results unless handled carefully.

Capability of the ECOWAS to Address Migration Problem

ECOWAS is a West Africa economic organization established on 28 May 1975. Its main goal is the promotion of economic integration among its members. However, following the increasing growth of insecurity, ECOWAS decided to expand its activities. In fact, on 29 May 1981, its members signed the “Protocol on Mutual Defense Assistance” that set up an Allied Armed Force of the Community.⁶² West Africa was not the only part of Africa facing security challenges. This resulted in the approval of the Africa Union’s ASF concept in 2004. This concept created the ASF to support each regional organization. The purpose of the ASF is to “provide the AU with a means of responding to conflict in a manner that was timely and efficient.”⁶³ Therefore, the

⁶² International Democracy Watch, “Economic Community of West African States,” accessed 26 December 2016, <http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org>. <http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org/index.php/economic-community-of-west-african-states->.

⁶³ Cedric de Coning and Yvonne Kasumba, eds., *The Civilian Dimension of the African Standby Force* (South Africa: African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), 2010), accessed 26 December 2016, <http://www.zif-berlin.org/>

assessment of the ECOWAS security force capability is based on the capability of the ESF.

Doctrine

As any organization, the ESF needs guidelines to be functional. *African Union Policy Guideline on the Role of the African Standby Force in Humanitarian Action and Natural Disaster Support* planned for close cooperation between all ASF with the Humanitarian Affairs, Refugees and Displaced Persons Division within the Department of Political Affairs. The objective of this organ is to develop policy and strategy to intervene in case of conflict or natural disaster.⁶⁴ To achieve this cooperation, the ESF utilized two documents to address migration. The first document is the “ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration.” This document has two approaches to deal with migration: fight against irregular migrations and human trafficking, and strengthen legal migration.

The first approach has several objectives: information and awareness campaigns for potential migrants on the dangers of irregular migration and smuggling networks; cooperation between ECOWAS member states with regard to controlling clandestine migration and dismantling the mafia-like networks; and affirmation of the principle of the return of clandestine migrants respecting their dignity and fundamental human rights. The

fileadmin/uploads/ueber_zif/dokumente/The_Civilian_Dimension_of_the_African_Standby_Force.pdf, 13.

⁶⁴ African Union, *African Union Policy Guideline on the Role of the African Standby Force in Humanitarian Action and Natural Disaster Support* (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: African Union Commission), accessed 17 January 2017, <http://www.peaceau.org/uploads/01-asf-in-hands-guidelines.pdf>, 10.

objectives of the second approach are: improving the training of ECOWAS member states' immigration departments and providing modern ECOWAS travel document checking equipment; and establishing an ECOWAS early warning system with a view for it to be a tool enabling the precursory signs warning of potential irregular immigration.⁶⁵

The second document is the "Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-Keeping and Security." The objectives of this protocol are: prevent, manage, and resolve conflicts; strengthen cooperation in the areas of conflict prevention; and control cross-border crime.⁶⁶ Article 41 of Chapter 8 begins, "The ECOMOG unit shall be adequately equipped to undertake humanitarian activities in their mission area under the control of the Special Representative of the Executive Secretary. ECOMOG shall provide assistance to all national, regional and international agencies, particularly on security issues."⁶⁷ The overall assessment shows that the ESF has adequate doctrine to allow it to cooperate in reducing overall cross-border migration throughout the regions by solving humanitarian problems and fostering border control.

⁶⁵ ECOWAS Commission, "ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration."

⁶⁶ ECOWAS, "Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-Keeping and Security," ECOWAS Documentation online, 1999, accessed 13 March 2017, http://documentation.ecowas.int/download/en/legal_documents/protocols/Protocol%20Relating%20to%20the%20Mechanism%20for%20Conflict%20Prevention.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

Table 4. Evaluation of Doctrine

DOMAIN	CRITERIA	Yes	No
Doctrine	Does the doctrine enable security forces to mitigate migration threat?	X	

Source: Created by author.

Organization

ESF is the security forces organization whose legacy is derived from the 1999 “Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security,” and the 2008 “ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF).” Therefore, the ESF organization is tied to the ECOWAS organizational structure.⁶⁸ In fact, as depicted in figure 4, ECOWAS has three principal organs that play key roles in peace and security: Authority of Heads of States and Government of Member States (AHSO), the Executive Secretariat, and the Mediation and Security Council (MSC). According to Article 7, “the AHSO is the supreme organ of ECOWAS. It is the highest decision-making organ that oversees the functioning and implementation of ECOWAS objectives, and delegates powers and refers matters to other organs”⁶⁹ The Executive Secretariat is headed by a president, who acts as the legal representative of

⁶⁸ Odigie Brown, “The Institutionilisation of Mediation Support within the ECOWAS Commission” (Briefing paper, African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), South Africa, June 2016).

⁶⁹ Olawale Ismail, “Toward a Community of Practice: ECOWAS and Peace and Security Policy Communities in West Africa Social” (African Peacebuilding Network Working Papers No. 3, Brooklyn, NY, February 2015), 5.

ECOWAS, implements decisions of the AHSG, prepares draft budgets and work plans, and submits periodic reports to the AHSG.⁷⁰ The MSC makes decisions on behalf of the AHSG assisted by the Defense and Security Commission, the Council of the Wise, and the ESF. The Defense and Security Commission assists in formulating mandates, appointing force commanders, and making decisions on missions. The Council of the Wise assists in mediation, negotiation, and facilitation of the peaceful settlement of conflicts. The ESF intervenes in peacekeeping and the restoration of peace, and humanitarian intervention in the wake of disaster.⁷¹ The ESF is then divided into the Task Force (TF) and the Main Brigade (MB).

The TF is comprised of 1,646 personnel and is ready to deploy into any mission within thirty days. It is capable of self-sustainment for ninety days. Due to the assumption that the TF is a quick reaction force designed to enforce peace, it is mainly composed of a military component supported by civil police. The MB can reinforce the TF as needed. The MB has 5,028 personnel and can deploy within ninety days with ninety days of sustainment. In addition to routine peacekeeping missions, this force is likely to undertake stability operations to support local authorities and restore essential services. Therefore, the MB will have three components: military, police, and civilian.⁷² The Early Warning Directorate assists the MSC. Some objectives of the Early Warning Directorate

⁷⁰ Ismail, 5.

⁷¹ Ibid., 7.

⁷² Miftah O. Ibrahim, “Challenges of Regional Collective Security: Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Standby Force: A Case Study” (Master’s thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 13 June 2008), 33.

are: develop community, national and sub-regional capacities/structures for early detection, early warning, and early response through training; identify and monitor context specific conflict and peace indicators, and analyze them for preventive action; and foster collaborative relationships with/between civil society, think tanks, existing national, sub-regional/regional, and international early warning.⁷³

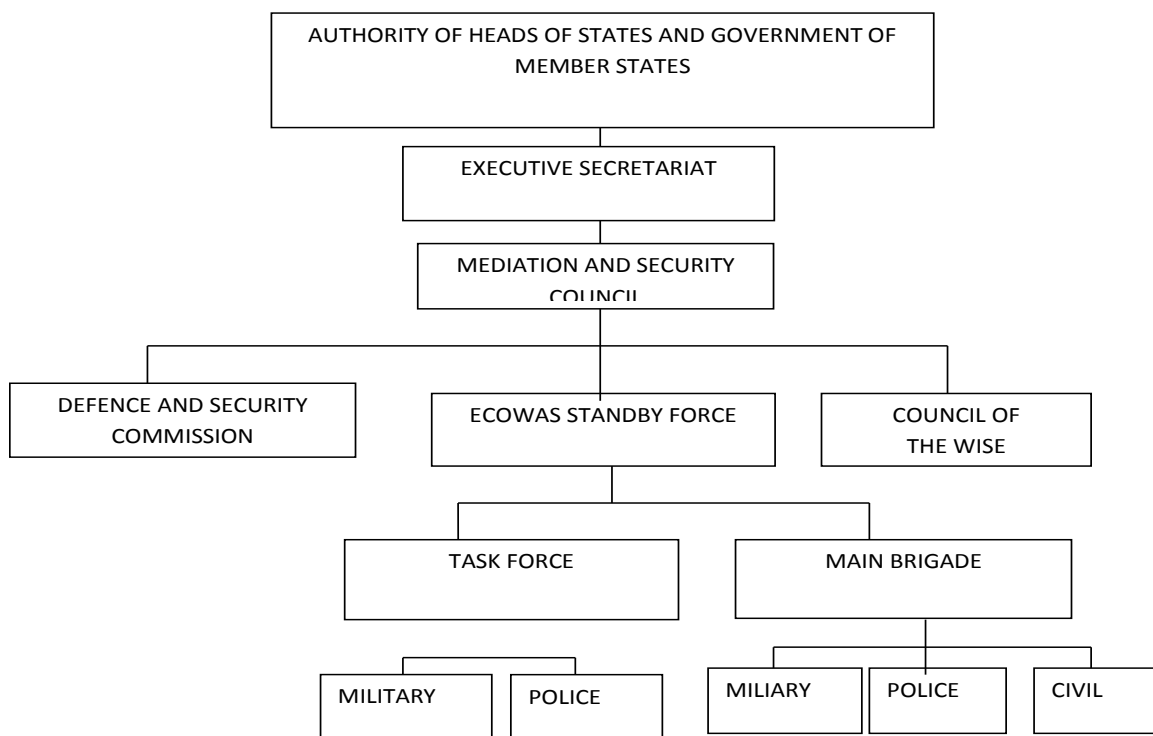


Figure 4. ECOWAS Organization

Source: Created by author.

⁷³ Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict, “Early Warning and Early Response,” Workshop on “Early Warning & Early Response Practice: Sharing the WANEP Experience” and Strategy Planning, West Africa Network for Peacebuilding and European Center for Conflict Prevention/GPPAC Global Secretariat, Accra, Ghana, 7-9 August 2007, 12.

The ESF is organized to deter any illegal migration across the border and restore peace and security. In fact, at the strategic level, the ESF headquarters receives the direction and guidance of the MSC, processes this guidance through the joint planning process (operational level), and issues orders to the TF or MB (tactical level). At the tactical level, the force, especially the MB, is organized to carry out peacekeeping operations using the military and police components, and peacebuilding operations using all three components. These two missions can deter migration by creating a safe environment for the population.

Table 5. Evaluation of Organization

DOMAIN	CRITERIA	Yes	No
Organization	Is the security forces organization effective for conducting security operations?	X	

Source: Created by author.

Training

Training is a crucial component that can increase the capacity of the ESF to cooperate in reducing overall cross-border migration. This importance was stated at the 2004 Chiefs of Defense Staff meeting, which noted that regular joint field exercises with

all units is required for readiness to deploy within fourteen days.⁷⁴ Therefore, training is an important tool that can enhance the ESF policy in reducing illegal migration. There are two levels of training: the national level and the training centers level.

National level training includes routine selection, preparation, and basic training. Each nation-state agrees to conduct training of their troops prior to any combined training. This concept creates a flaw in the system because of the disparity between nations. National and political interests, and more importantly, the economic gap between countries influence training. In fact, according to table 1, the GDP of Nigeria is 560 times the GDP of Cabo-Verdo or Guinea Bissau. In light of this, the materiel capability and level of training of Nigerian troops must be different from that of Guinea Bissau.

ECOWAS has three main regional training hubs: *Ecole de Maintien de la Paix de Bamako*, where training focuses on the tactical level; the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) in Ghana, which deals with operational level training; and the National Defense University in Nigeria, which conducts strategic level studies. All these training centers aim at reinforcing the capabilities of national forces and ESF. For example, the KAIPTC conducts training and research in conflict prevention, management, and resolution, as well as innovative thinking, and regional capacity building for Integrated Peace Support Operations.⁷⁵ All the skills learned from these

⁷⁴ Captain Abubakar Sadiq Aliyu, “Regional Dimensions of Peace Support Operations in the Twenty-First Century: A Case Study of the African Standby Force Concept” (Thesis, Peace Operations Training Institute, Williamsburg), 26.

⁷⁵ ECOWAS Commission, “*Get to know the ECOWAS:” Peace and Security in an ECOWAS of the people, 5-13 October 2010* (Abuja, Nigeria: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2011), 21.

centers will contribute to deter migration. In addition, there are three well-known types of training which affect the level of readiness. A 14-day readiness collective training encompasses field exercises with all units, while a 30-day readiness collective training is mainly designed to lead headquarters command post exercises. At the 90-day readiness training, emphasis is on collective training to develop a level of coherence prior to deployment.⁷⁶

The other two components of ESF, police and civilian, still have some training even though they do not have a well-defined structure. Their training intends to build their capabilities to enforce laws and regulations; civil protection. Most of their training is through the Center of Excellence. However, some training programs outside these centers, such as *Appui à la formation de la police et de la gendarmerie en Afrique*, and Justice and Security in the Sahel-Saharan Region make a significant contribution. These two projects contribute to build capabilities to help police and gendarmerie to design their own training, create a pool of experts by training trainers, and build institutional and human civil protection capabilities.⁷⁷

By enabling peace and security, this training is adequate to deal with migration. However, the problem that impedes the training is funding. Whether at the national level or through training centers, the ESF must heavily rely on donors. Yet, the funding is based on parameters such as history of coups, the military support to authoritarian regimes, human rights violations, and their involvement in destabilization of another

⁷⁶ Aliyu, 22.

⁷⁷ Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Direction de la coopération de sécurité et de défense, “Dossier Special,” 16-17,

state.⁷⁸ Knowing the history and the current situation of coups of this region, donors are probably not motivated. In summary, the ESF gains enough skill to address the illegal migration problem. The table below portrays the overall analysis of the assessment.

Table 6. Evaluation of Training

DOMAIN	CRITERIA	Yes	No
Training	Do the ESF have sufficient training and education to conduct effective security operations?	X	

Source: Created by author.

Materiel

Unlike the time of Napoleon, where only the human dimension played an important role in the outcome of war, materiel now has a great impact on the outcome of battle. Even though controlling migration does not always involve conventional war, it is still based on technology. In fact, the ESF do not have their own equipment, and most of the materiel is supplied by each country involved. With the assumption that deterring migration can be implemented with strong border control, it will be very tough for the ESF because of the porosity of the borders. This situation is coupled with the lack of materiel to control borders. Exploring the materiel of the three largest countries of West Africa in terms of area (Niger, Mali, and Nigeria) highlights the shortage of materiel.

⁷⁸ Beswick, 212.

With the mobility of migrants and the largest of borders, air force assets have priority for materiel acquisition in order to enforce control. Mali, with the largest border (4,661 miles) has only sixteen combat aircraft to control and alert any displacement across borders. Therefore, each aircraft will cover 291 miles, which is not practicable. Mali's situation is better than Niger's, which has one aircraft or helicopter covering 354 miles. Only Nigeria has a fair ratio with twenty-nine miles per aircraft. Other services also have important roles in controlling illegal migration. Unfortunately, they suffer the same shortage of materiel. This study reveals the disparity between countries in terms of equipment, and more importantly, it highlights the inability of these countries to control their borders because of a lack of equipment. Due to the similarities of West Africa countries, one can easily apply these findings to other ECOWAS countries.

Table 7. Military Equipment of Three Largest Countries of ECOWAS

Country	Area	Border Range	Materiel
Niger	489,191 sq. mi.	3,540 mi.	Army: 130 reconnaissance vehicles; 21 APCs*
			Air Force: 6 aircraft; 7 helicopters
			Navy: no Navy
Mali	478,767 sq. mi.	4,661 mi.	Army: 51 Armored vehicles.
			Air Force: 14 combat aircraft; 6 armed helicopters
			Navy: 2 river patrol boats
Nigeria	356,669 sq. mi.	3,045 mi.	Army: 200 main battle tanks; 100 Scorpion tanks
			Air Force: 86 combat aircraft; 16 armed helicopters
			Navy: 1 frigate; 8 patrol boats

Source: Created by author using information from DefenceWeb, “Mali Military,” accessed 15 February 2017, http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=31482:mali-military&catid=119:african-militaries&Itemid=255; DefenceWeb, “Niger Armed Forces,” accessed 15 February 2017, http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=31880:niger-armed-forces&catid=119:african-militaries&Itemid=255; Nations Encyclopedia, “Nigeria – Armed Forces,” Advameg, 17 January 2017, <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Africa/Nigeria-ARMED-FORCES.html>. *Note: APC is Armored Personnel Carrier.

With the second assumption that enforcing peace will create a suitable environment that will deter migration, the study observes the ratio of the number of airframes per area controlled. Niger has one aircraft or helicopter that controls 489,199 square miles. At the same time, Mali has one combat aircraft per 29,922 square miles. Once again, only Nigeria has the acceptable ratio of one aircraft or helicopter per 3,496

square miles. Therefore, if the ECOWAS countries do not have enough adequate materiel to secure their country, it is obvious that their materiel cannot address the migration issue. To overcome this situation, the ESF needs the assistance of donors. Therefore, the assumption is that the European Union and member states will provide strategic airlift of equipment and vehicles to an ECOWAS force to implement its mission.⁷⁹ The table below depicts the assessment of ESF materiel.

Table 8. Evaluation of Materiel

DOMAINE	CRITERIA	Yes	No
Materiel	Do security forces have sufficient materiel to effectively control their borders?		X

Source: Created by author.

Leadership

Leadership is an important tool that directs and motivates an organization. This is even crucial in multinational organizations such as the ESF. In fact, the ESF encompasses fifteen countries, each with their own culture and national caveat. National caveat is the restriction put on troops by a country. According to the findings of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations in March 2016, “the presence of caveats can undermine the coherence of the chain of command and the effectiveness of operations on

⁷⁹ Aliyu, 29.

the ground.”⁸⁰ In addition, the environment is a complex mix of non-governmental organizations, international organizations, and media. Each of them can facilitate or hamper the ESF operations.

However, there are three types of efforts to implement quality leadership in this complex environment in order to deter migration. The first effort is outstanding coordination. It aims at “fostering a better understanding of mission and tactics, facilitating the ability to integrate and synchronize operations, assisting in the transfer of vital information, enhancing mutual trust, and developing an increased level of teamwork.”⁸¹ The second effort is communication. There must be free and open communication between states and the components of ESF. Communication is an important tool to overcome cultural differences and language barriers considering that the ECOWAS has three official languages: English, French, and Portuguese. The third effort is respect for the sovereignty of each country.

Yet in practice, things are different. The first problem of leadership is the management of the three components: military, police, and civilian. There is a strong preference for the military component. All important advances are provided to the

⁸⁰ Alexandra Novosseloff, “No Caveats, Please?: Breaking a Myth in UN Peace Operations,” *Global Peace Operations*, 12 September 2016, accessed 21 February 2017, <http://peaceoperationsreview.org/thematic-essays/no-caveats-please-breaking-a-myth-in-un-peace-operations>.

⁸¹ Director, Joint Staff, Joint Publication 3-16, *Multinational Operations* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 16 July 2013), II-8.

military component of the ESF. This progress concerns force structure, field exercises, and the military planning element.⁸²

Many attempts for the civilian component to overcome these military supremacies have produced no significant effects. In fact, neither the 2005 workshop at the KAIPTC, which aimed to provide structure, mandate, and recruitment selection, nor the one in 2006 that provided a roadmap for the operationalization of the civilian component improved the situation.⁸³ Even though they revealed the two main functions for the civilian component—substantive civil function and mission support function—some issues remain. In fact, there is no precise number of civilians in the ESF Planning Element. Likewise, the number of civilians needed in the rapid deployment capability is not specified.⁸⁴

The police component circumstances are similar to the civil component. Although the police component has more structure than the civilian component, their training receives less attention. The police briefing in February 2009 at the KAIPTC addressed this neglect of the police component: “There will also be the need for ECOWAS to further develop the police components of its future ESF missions to support law and

⁸² David Nii Addy and Samule Atuobi, “Towards the Operationalization of the Civilian Component of the ECOWAS Standby Force” (Policy brief, Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center, Ghana, Africa, February 2009), 2.

⁸³ Ibid., 3.

⁸⁴ de Coning and Kasumba, 71.

order during the stabilization phases of its interventions, and to possibly train newly recruited police forces.”⁸⁵

The second level of the leadership problem is at the ECOWAS states’ level. This is mainly due to the disparity of the countries’ contributions to ECOWAS. Nigeria’s contribution mainly represents 60 percent of the total revenue. In fact, “Between 2003 and 2011 for instance, Nigeria contributed \$918.7 million (N138 billion) to the running of the Community, followed at a distance by Ghana at \$225.7 million (N34 billion), and Cote D’Ivoire at \$107.5 million (N16.1 billion).”⁸⁶ Among the three leading countries, the first two are English speaking. Therefore, there is tendency for domination of the English speaking countries in the ESF. However, the big problem that remains is the hegemony of Nigeria. Because of its outstanding contribution in funding, Nigeria tends to dominate the other countries during any decision making process. This situation is harmful to the impartiality and legitimacy of the ECOWAS and its standby force.

Two leadership problems undermine the ESF: the strategic level among states, and the operational level among the ESF component. This situation seriously hampers the three principles that must enable the ESF to deter migration: coordination,

⁸⁵ Addy and Atuobi, 3.

⁸⁶ Bassey Udo and Ini Ekott, “Nigeria, ECOWAS’ largest donor, continually outsmarted by smaller West-African countries,” *Premium Times*, 4 February 2013, accessed 21 February 2017, <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/118585-nigeria-ecowas-largest-donor-continually-outsmarted-by-smaller-west-african-countries.html>.

communication, and sovereignty.⁸⁷ Consequently, this leadership cannot favor deterring migration.

Table 9. Evaluation of Leadership

DOMAINE	CRITERIA	Yes	No
Leadership	Does the leadership understand the migration in order to conduct effective security operations?		X

Source: Created by author.

Personnel

Every country has to contribute personnel to build the ESF. With the complexity of security challenges facing the West Africa region, the ESF must be ready to address peacekeeping and post-conflict issues. Therefore, three main components form this force: military force, police force, and civil component. Each force has its specificity and complements the others.

The military component is by far the most important force in terms of strength. Apart from the nuclear force that is based at headquarters, other forces are positioned in every country. The first component of this force is the pre-determined regional standby formation. This force is trained, equipped, and ready to respond to a crisis or other threat of peace. This force comprises about 1,646 personnel and is prepared to deploy within

⁸⁷ Aleksandra Dier, “The African Standby Force Put to the Test,” *CSS Analysis in Security Policy*, no. 84 (November 2010): 3.

thirty days with ninety days of self-sustainment. The second force has the strength of 5,028 personnel, is the MB, and can deploy within ninety days with ninety days of sustainment.⁸⁸

Unlike the military component, the strength of the police component is limited. In fact, it encompasses 500 observers, 240 individual civilian police, and two companies of stability police.⁸⁹ While their actions stretch over all phases of operations, the main effort focuses on the stabilization phase. The purpose of this phase is to create favorable humanitarian conditions by restoring infrastructure and essential services. As stated in the 2006 draft framework, three main roles are devoted to the police component. The first role is to monitor, mentor, and advise local law and order forces and aims to ensure that local police are consistent with international standards. The second role is to reform and restore local police. This includes developing infrastructure and providing training for local forces. The last role is the executive function that deals with powers of arrest, crowd control, and investigation.⁹⁰

The civilian component does not receive as much attention as the military and police components. However, this force is the cornerstone of peacebuilding that occurs after conflicts. According to the 2007 United Nations Secretary-General's Policy Committee:

⁸⁸ Ibrahim, 33.

⁸⁹ Daniel H. Levin, "African Civilian Police Capacity for International Peacekeeping Operations," Stimson, January 2008, accessed 29 December 2016, https://www.stimson.org/sites/default/files/file-attachments/African_Civpol_08FINAL_1_1.pdf, 17.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 19.

Peacebuilding involves a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development. Peacebuilding strategies must be coherent and tailored to specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and should comprise a carefully prioritized, sequenced, and therefore relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objectives.⁹¹

Although the first step was taken at the 2005 workshop at the KAIPTC, to structure, mandate, and recruit civilian experts, no significant effort is seen. Therefore, it is difficult to provide the exact number of this force. Nevertheless, the civilian component can potentially play a role in reducing migration in the following ways: support for the delivery of humanitarian assistance in complex emergencies; enable the protection of civilians and gender mainstreaming; strengthen child protection and the promotion of human rights; and assist with post-conflict recovery and rehabilitation.⁹² Even though there is diversity in the attention given to each component and their strength, the ESF has the personnel with adequate skills to deal with the migration issue.

Table 10. Evaluation of Personnel

DOMAIN	CRITERIA	Yes	No
Personnel	Are there enough personnel to set a condition to deter migration?	X	

Source: Created by author.

⁹¹ United Nations Peace Support Office, “Peacebuilding & the United Nations,” United Nations, accessed 29 December 2016, <http://www.un.org/en/peacebuilding/pbso/pbun.shtml>.

⁹² Addy and Atuobi, 2.

As shown in table 11, overall, the ECOWAS states have the capability to address the migration issue. However, some domains, such as leadership and personnel, require improvement.

Table 11. Evaluation of ESF using DOTMLP

DOMAIN	CRITERIA	Yes	No
Doctrine	Does the doctrine enable security forces to mitigate the migration threat?	X	
Organization	Is the security forces organization effective for conducting security operations?	X	
Training	Do the ESF have sufficient training and education to conduct effective security operations?	X	
Materiel	Do the security forces have sufficient materiel to effectively control their borders?		X
Leadership	Does the leadership understand the migration in order to conduct effective security operations?		X
Personnel	Are there enough personnel to set a condition to deter migration?	X	

Source: Created by author.

Comparative Case Study

This section aims to address the final research question: can security forces of a specific country in West Africa reduce migration? In order to answer this question, the effort of Mali security forces is compared to the U.S. security force. The first step of this

study focuses on the strategic environments of these two countries. This is important because environment shapes doctrine or strategy.⁹³

The geographic situations of these two countries are very different. Mali is a landlocked country bordered by seven countries: Algeria, Niger, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Guinea, Senegal, and Mauritania. Its area is 1,240,000 square kilometers (478,767 square miles), and it shares 7,243 kilometers (4,661 miles) of border. Whereas, the United States has access to the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, it shares a border with two countries: Canada and Mexico. The U.S. area is 9,629,091 square kilometers (3,717,813 square miles), and it has 17,563 kilometers (10,913 miles) of border.⁹⁴

Mali is a less populated country. The total population of Mali is 18,689,966 and its density (population per square kilometer) is fifteen. The migrant net, which is the difference between the incoming and outgoing population, is -60490. That means the number of people leaving the country is greater than the number of those coming into the country. The United States is also a less populated country with a total population of 324,118,787 for density (population per square kilometer) of thirty-six. However, the migration net is +1001577. That means more people are coming to the United States than leaving.⁹⁵

⁹³ Gary J. Bjorge, "Introduction to Sun Tzu's The Art of War," in *H300: Roots of Today's Operational Environment Parallel Block* (Department of Military History, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 2016), H302RA-58.

⁹⁴ Nations Encyclopedia, "Mali Armed Forces."

⁹⁵ Worldometers, "U.S. Population," accessed 4 February 2017, <http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/us-population>.

In addition to geography, the economic and military capabilities are a major factor. Mali is a very poor country with very limited capabilities. In 2016, the GDP Nominal (billions of dollars) of Mali was 14.103. In contrast, the United States has adequate capabilities and its GDP Nominal (billions of dollars) in 2016 was 18561934.⁹⁶ With its limited capabilities, Mali has only 7,500 active duty military and no reserves; whereas, the United States has 1,400,000 active duty military and 1,100,000 reserves.⁹⁷ The strategic environment is one of the key considerations. As any other country in West Africa, Mali's migration policy is based on the ECOWAS "Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Residence, and Establishment on 29 May 1979." This protocol fosters free circulation within ECOWAS countries without a visa or passport. Even with the effort of Tuareg tribes to alter Mali's border by creating the Azawad state, at the strategic level, nothing significant has been done. Unlike Mali, the United States has made significant improvements at the strategic level. In fact, the U.S. migration policy has evolved significantly since the attacks of 9/11. The most important action is President Donald J. Trump's project to build a 1,000-mile wall and natural obstacles to protect the U.S. border from Mexican immigrants.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Statistics Times, "List of Countries by GDP," 21 October 2016, accessed 4 February 2017, <http://statisticstimes.com/economy/countries-by-projected-gdp.php>.

⁹⁷ Global Firepower, "United States of America Military Strength," accessed 4 February 2017, http://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=united-states-of-america.

⁹⁸ David Smith, "Trump Signs Order to Begin Mexico Border Wall in Immigration Crackdown," *The Guardian*, 25 January 2017, accessed 21 April 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jan/25/donald-trump-sign-mexico-border-executive-order>.

Table 12. Comparison of Strategic Environment between Mali and the United States

	MALI	U.S.
Border (distance/countries)	1,240,000 sq. km. (478,767 sq. mi.); shares 7,243 km. (4,661 mi.) of border	9,629,091 sq. km. (3,717,813 sq. mi.); shares 17,563 km. (10,913 mi.) of border
Population (total number of population)	18,689,966; density (population/sq. km.) 15; migrant net -60490	324,118,787; density (population/sq. km.) 36; migrant net +1001577
Economy (rank of poverty)	2016 GDP Nominal (billions of \$) 14.103	2016 GDP Nominal (billions of \$) 18561934
Military (composition)	7,500 active; 0 Reserves	1,400,000 active; 1,100,000 reserves
Strategic Policy	ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Residence, and Establishment on 29 May 1979	President Trump migration executive order

Source: Created by author using information from Nations Encyclopedia, “Mali,” accessed 24 December 2016, <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Africa/Mali.html>; Worldometers, “U.S. Population,” accessed 4 February 2017, <http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/us-population>; Statistics Times, “List of Countries by GDP,” 21 October 2016, accessed 4 February 2017, <http://statisticstimes.com/economy/countries-by-projected-gdp.php>; Global Firepower, “United States of America Military Strength,” accessed 4 February 2017, http://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=united-states-of-america.



Figure 5. Mali and its Neighboring Countries

Source: Operation World, “Mali,” accessed 17 February 2016, <http://www.operationworld.org/country/mali/owtext.html>.

Capability to Control Border

The ability to control borders is crucial to reduce migration. Many factors make it difficult for Mali to control its borders effectively. The first factor is the geographic situation. Mali shares 7,250 kilometers of border with seven countries: Algeria, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire, Mauritania, Niger, and Senegal. More than 65 percent of Mali's territory is desert, and more than half of the population is living in the southern part of the country.⁹⁹ Second, Mali is a poor country with limited resources that prevent it from having a means to control their borders. However, after the attack in the north by the rebels that came from Libya, border control became more relevant. Therefore, controlling Mali's borders must be a synergy of adaptive doctrine, adequate materiel capability, and adequate skill.

Adaptive Doctrine

This section analyzes the Mali security forces' doctrine to determine if it is relevant to the border control issue and to compare it to U.S. doctrine. At the strategic level, Mali is different from the United States, not only because of its environment, but also because of its national policy on migration. While Mali basically favors free circulation through the ECOWAS "Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Residence, and Establishment" (even though there are more restrictions since the rebel attack in 2012), the United States is more restrictive. In fact, in addition to mandatory document such as Passport, and Trusted Traveler Program Cards required for immigrant from

⁹⁹ Learn French Help, "Figures and information on Mali," accessed 11 February 2017, <http://www.learn-french-help.com/information-on-mali.html>.

Canada,¹⁰⁰ President Trump plans to construct a wall between the United States and Mexico to prevent illegal migration.

Mali inherits doctrine from Western countries. First, the root of Mali doctrine is the French doctrine of “*La Guerre Revolutionnaire*.”¹⁰¹ However, in addition to French doctrine, Mali incorporated doctrine from other countries and failed to integrate those doctrines. For example, the Mali Air Force is based on “the Russian doctrine for air superiority, the French doctrine for the close air support, and American doctrine for transport.”¹⁰² The latest amendment to military doctrine was in 1974 and outlined two phases. The first phase is defensive and the second phase is offensive. Therefore, Mali’s military doctrine provides room for securing borders with its defensive plan, but it suffers due to a lack of synchronization and adaptation.

The DHS is the security agency that deals with U.S. border control. The legal document that directs the action of the DHS is the *United States Border Patrol (USBP) Strategic Plan*. The first *USBP Strategic Plan*, developed in 1994, focused not only on individuals illegally crossing the border, but on those who assisted in violating the law. In addition, it emphasized deploying individuals and resources at the border as a means of deterrence.¹⁰³ The attacks of 9/11 influenced the 2004 USBP. Therefore, the

¹⁰⁰ Niagara Falls USA, “Niagara Falls Border Crossing Information,” accessed 21 April 2017, <https://www.niagarafallsusa.com/planning-tools/border-information/>.

¹⁰¹ Major Sory Ibrahim Kone, “Doctrine for a Smaller Air Force: Mali and the Question of Unique Air Doctrine” (Research paper, Air Command and Staff College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, AL, March 1997), 13.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Stalnaker, 22-23.

difference between the 1994 USBP and the 2004 USBP is that the latter document shifted the focus from illegal immigrants to prevention of terrorists and terrorist weapons entering the country.¹⁰⁴ The 2012 USBP has the same organization as the 2004 USBP, with the difference being that it focuses more on the use of information, integration, and rapid response.¹⁰⁵

Mali and the United States have doctrine that favors border control. While the U.S. doctrine on border control is more explicit and adaptive, Mali does not have a specific document governing border control. Therefore, Mali's defense strategy guides their border control policies.

Build Capability

Due to its level of poverty, Mali lacks the capability to control its borders. Immigration agents lack the equipment and are unmotivated. "Lack of office space and accommodation for border patrol and control personnel, coupled with inadequate means of communication have also severely tested the capacity of these agents to carry out their work effectively."¹⁰⁶ The migration service relies heavily on the military posts or equipment. Unfortunately, this amount of equipment cannot effectively perform the duty. As shown in table 7, Mali has only sixteen aircraft, and this gives it the ratio of one combat aircraft per 413 kilometers of border.

¹⁰⁴ Stalnaker, 23-24.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 27.

¹⁰⁶ Afua A. Lamptey, "Rethinking Border Management Strategies in West Africa: Experiences from the Sahel" (Policy brief, Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center, Ghana, Africa, December 2013), 3.

To solve this problem, Mali relies on external organizations. The first partner is an intergovernmental organization, International Organization for Migration. This organization “works for an effective management of cross-border flows by strengthening the institutional capacity through the rehabilitation and construction of border posts training of immigration officers and provision of border control equipment.”¹⁰⁷ The organization also provides Malian border police posts with the Migration Information and Data Analysis System. The purpose of the Migration Information Data Analysis System is to “collect, process, store and analyze information about travelers, including their bio-data and biometrics.”¹⁰⁸ In addition to the International Organization for Migration, Mali benefits from logistics of the French mission, Operation Barkhan, to control its borders. Therefore, apart from one thousand personnel, this French mission has two hundred armored vehicles, six fighting aircraft, three drones, and a dozen transport aircraft.¹⁰⁹ Mali also has had the support of the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali since its establishment in 2013.

Unlike Mali, the United States has a tremendous number of assets that enable it to control its borders. While some of the materiel tracks migrants, other aims at quickly

¹⁰⁷ International Organization for Migration, “Mali,” accessed 18 February 2017, <https://www.iom.int/countries/mali>.

¹⁰⁸ International Organization for Migration, “Immigration and Border Management in Mali: IOM Assistance for Security and Sustainable Development” (Information sheet, International Organization for Migration, Bamako, Mali, October 2016), accessed 20 February 2017, <https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/country/docs/mali/Infosheet-IBM-Mali-oct2016.pdf>.

¹⁰⁹ Ministère de la Défense, “Opération Barkhane,” République Française, 2017, accessed 21 February 2017, <http://www.defense.gouv.fr/operations/operations/sahel/dossier-de-presentation-de-l-operation-barkhane/operation-barkhane>.

reacting in case of violation. One example of tracking materiel is Cameras and Sensors. These assets have infrared capability, operate twenty-four hours, and record all incidents. Another item is the Integrated Automated Fingerprint Identification System program that matches fingerprints to the Customs and Border Protection's Automated Biometric Identification System and the Federal Bureau of Investigation's criminal fingerprint database. This program helps identify repeat immigration violators. The United States also utilizes unmanned aerial vehicles. These assets can stay in the air for forty-eight hours and effectively monitor miles of border from a bird's eye view. Finally, Automatic License Plate Recognition compares the information of a vehicle with the databases of stolen vehicles or license plates.¹¹⁰

The second type of asset is reacting in a timely manner to prevent or stop migration. In fact, the Border Patrol maintains over 109 vessels, ranging from blue-water craft to inflatable-hull craft, in sixteen sectors. These boats are very effective in patrolling the eastern and western coast of the country.¹¹¹ In addition to this, there are 240 aircraft and 300 marine vessels of the U.S. Customs and Border Protection's Air and Marine Operations. The purpose of this operation is to interdict "unlawful people and cargo approaching U.S. borders, investigates criminal networks and provides domain awareness

¹¹⁰ Thomas M. Manson, "Border security technology," Hendon Media Group, accessed 21 February 2017, http://www.hendonpub.com/resources/article_archive/results/details?id=3478.

¹¹¹ U.S. Customs and Border Protection, "Border Patrol Overview," Department of Homeland Security, 2015, accessed 21 February 2017, <https://www.cbp.gov/border-security/along-us-borders/overview>.

in the air and maritime environments, and responds to contingencies and national taskings.”¹¹²

Unlike the United States, Mali, like other West African countries, lacks materiel assets to control its border fully. As the political situation evolved with the creation of the French and United Nations’ missions due to the invasion, Mali makes use of these mission capabilities to control borders.

Training

Training is an important factor that can help to enforce border control. Even though Mali does not have enough resources, it puts great emphasis on training. Therefore, most of the training is through the IOM. This agency laid out many objectives to enhance skills for border control: enhancing migration management procedures; providing training to trainers for border management and law enforcement agencies; and arranging training on MIDAS and IT skills related to MIDAS.¹¹³ In addition, the IOM trains the Malian police in auxiliary skills such as computer literacy and English. The agency also strengthens the competencies and professionalism of Malian border officials

¹¹² U.S. Customs and Border Protection, “From the Air and Sea,” Department of Homeland Security, accessed 21 February 2017, <https://www.cbp.gov/border-security/air-sea>.

¹¹³ International Organization for Migration, “Project Proposal: Coordinated Border Management in Niger, Mali, Mauritania and Burkina Faso,” accessed 21 February 2017, <https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/country/docs/mauritania/Coordinated-Border-Management-Sahel-TC0841.pdf>.

through professional training in border management, travel document examination, and combatting trans-border crime.¹¹⁴

In the United States, the border control training is more serious and begins at the Customs and Border Protection Border Patrol Academy for basic training. This nineteen-week resident course encompasses instruction in integrated law, physical training, firearms instruction, driving and Spanish. Some subjects are:

1. Nationality Law that teaches the basic trainee how to determine whether the person being questioned is American or not;
2. Immigration Law that teaches the basic trainee to recognize violations of law, and initiate the appropriate action;
3. Criminal Law that teaches how to recognize violations of federal criminal statutes and take appropriate action;
4. Spanish Language Training that enables the agent to communicate effectively with those people who speak only Spanish.¹¹⁵

In addition to this basic training, border patrol agents can expand their knowledge through online training, specialized training, and seminars. Moreover, border patrol agents benefit from the training provided by the U.S. Army. In fact, the Army can

¹¹⁴ International Organization for Migration, “Immigration and Border Management in Mali.”

¹¹⁵ U.S. Customs and Border Protection, “CBP Border Patrol Academy,” Department of Homeland Security, 2015, accessed 21 February 2017, https://help.cbp.gov/app/answers/detail/a_id/1017/~/-/cbp-border-patrol-academy.

provide planning expertise at the USBP sector, and deploy a mobile training team to support the new surveillance/intelligence equipment.¹¹⁶

Mali and the United States recognize the importance of training immigration agents in order to control borders effectively. While in the United States these agents have a tremendous amount of training to increase their performance, the situation is quite different in Mali. In fact, due to limited resources, this country cannot design diverse training and mainly relies on external contributions.

As shown in table 13, the Mali strategic environment, coupled with its poverty prevents it from implementing a strong border control policy through adaptable doctrine, adequate materiel, and effective training. On the contrary, in the United States, which is driven by national strategy, the border control is effective and operational. In view of the results shown in the table, the U.S. border patrol strategy is more effective.

¹¹⁶ Major Chanda Ian Mofu, “Army Support to the United States Border Patrol in the 21st Century” (Monograph, School of Advanced Military Studies, Fort Leavenworth, KS, March 2011), 2.

Table 13. Assessment of Effectiveness of Mali Security Forces to Control Border Compared to the United States

LOE	Criteria	Country	Little Effective (1)	Moderately Effective (2)	Explicitly Effective (3)
BORDER CONTROL	Is the current doctrine suitable for deterring migration?	MALI	<u>X</u>		
		U.S.			<u>X</u>
	Do the security forces have adequate materiel capabilities?	MALI		<u>X</u>	
		U.S.			<u>X</u>
	Do the security forces have adequate training to secure borders?	MALI		<u>X</u>	
		U.S.			<u>X</u>
TOTAL		<u>MALI= 05</u>		<u>US=09</u>	

Source: Created by author.

Create Peaceful Environment

Two major factors cause people to migrate. The first reason is security and the second reason is economic. By creating a peaceful environment, one can mitigate these factors. In fact, if the life and property of the population is secure, people will not risk their lives to migrate. In addition, a safe environment induces social and economic development of the locality and therefore prevents people from migrating. In order to foster this safe and secure environment, security forces must cooperate and increase civil-military cooperation.

Internal Cooperation

Due to their poor training and lack of equipment and personnel, Mali security forces must put a great emphasis on cooperation among its services. Unfortunately, similar to many countries in West Africa, Mali does not have full cooperation among its security forces. In fact, there is a trend of hegemony of the military forces over paramilitary forces such as police and immigration agents. The consequence is a lack of information sharing. The distortion among the security force in Mali began in 1994 when formal Tuareg rebels integrated into the Mali regular army. This created a climate of mistrust within the security forces and resulted in the mutiny in 1994 when the new Tuareg recruits murdered their comrade.¹¹⁷ Moreover, the 2012 military coup has contributed to aggravate the situation. In fact, not all military personnel were in favor of the coup organized by Captain Amadou Haya Sanogo. As a result, according to Human Rights Watch, “soldiers that didn’t bow to him were picked up, tortured and killed.”¹¹⁸

The United States is more involved in internal security cooperation issues. Unlike DHS, the DOD through Goldwater–Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of October 4, 1986 has a legal directive to integrate the services.¹¹⁹ Among the military

¹¹⁷ Lieutenant Colonel Kalifa Keita, “Conflict and conflict Resolution in the Sahel: The Tuareg Insurgency in Mali” (Report, Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, PA, 1 May 1998), accessed 21 February 2017, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB200.pdf>, 22.

¹¹⁸ *Al Jazeera*, “Mali coup leader arrested and charged,” 20 November 2013, accessed 13 March 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/11/mali-coup-leader-arrested-charged-201311283924560833.html>.

¹¹⁹ U.S. Congress, *Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986*, Public Law 99-433 (1 October 1986), 99th Congress, Historical Office, Office of

forces component, the office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff acts as the integrating cell of military forces. It ensures that forces are managed properly. Therefore, its goal is to plan and train forces in order to prepare them for any type of adversity.

In addition to this, there is a strong will to enhance cooperation between the military component and other security forces. In fact, this cooperation began in 1911 during President William Taft's administration when 30,000 troops deployed to the Mexican border in support of the USBP to counter violence.¹²⁰ Currently, the cooperation is expanded in training and materiel support and involves many agencies. For example, Joint Task Force North provides homeland security support to the nation's federal law enforcement agency. The Army provides planning expertise to the U.S. Border Patrol Agency and in return, the Army sends officers to the USBP and the DHS to broaden their experience. The Army supports the USBP with intelligence equipment and personnel.¹²¹

Internal political issues and mistrust among its components undermine the internal security cooperation in Mali. Therefore, the cooperation among Mali security forces in order to create a peaceful environment is little effective. On the contrary, U.S. security forces are willing to cooperate through exchange of training and materiel support, which makes them explicitly effective.

the Secretary of Defense, accessed 21 April 2017, http://history.defense.gov/Portals/70/Documents/dod_reforms/Goldwater-NicholsDoDReordAct1986.pdf, 992.

¹²⁰ Mofu, 3.

¹²¹ Ibid., 3-5.

External Security Cooperation

In regards to the external military cooperation in Mali, this research focuses on their relationship with Algeria, Mauritania, Morocco, and Libya. In fact, these countries have a connection with the Mali security environment. The attack of Mali by a rebel group in 2012 underscored the security cooperation challenges between Mali security forces and foreign security forces. In fact, since the independence of Mali, there was a misunderstanding between the central government and Tuareg from the northern part of Mali. In fact, these tribes felt neglected by the government and began trafficking in anything to survive. When chased by Mali security forces, Algeria offered this rebel group a safe haven in order to use them against a rebel group in Algeria named Armed Islamic Group. Libya, who is Mali's other neighbor, also supports Malian rebels by incorporating them into the Libyan military. After the collapse of the Gadhafi regime, this rebel group rushed to the north of Mali with strong firepower to begin another rebellion.¹²²

The main reason for this lack of security cooperation is the hegemony of its neighboring countries. Actually, due to the rivalry between Algeria and Libya about who will mediate conflict in the northern part of Mali and Niger, Libya refused to join the Algeria-led *pays de champ* initiative. Algeria's rivalry with Morocco over the Western Sahara led to the exclusion of Morocco from this initiative and Morocco diplomatic action to prevent an effective regional security framework.

¹²² Guerrero, 86.

With two neighboring countries, the United States should not have to face the difficulty of implementing military cooperation with them. Its neighboring countries, most specifically Mexico, heavily influence the security situation in the United States.

Due to the gap in terms of living conditions and the economy between Mexico and the United States, most Mexicans find the United States a good opportunity to make money. In order to have a safe environment in the United States, it is important to have good military cooperation with Mexico. In fact, Mexicans constitute the largest number of immigrants. According to the Affordable Care Act, in 2014 there were more than 11.7 million Mexican immigrants in the United States, and this accounts for 28 percent of all U.S. immigrants.¹²³ Moreover, there is proof that Mexican drug cartels can influence the stability in the United States because they see the United States as a good market place.

After his special mission in Mexico in 2008 on behalf of the Department of Agriculture, retired General Barry McCaffrey drew the connection between drug cartels and migration and called for U.S. support to the Mexican government. Therefore, he advocated the need to continue U.S. funding up to four hundred million dollars a year.¹²⁴ Currently, there are four pillars to the U.S.-Mexico security cooperation: “disrupting the operational capacity of organized crime, institutionalizing the rule of law, creating a twenty-first-century border to speed the flow of legal commerce and stop that of illegal

¹²³ Jie Zong and Jeanne Batalova, “Frequently Requested Statistics on Immigrants and Immigration in the United States” Migration Policy Institute, 8 March 2016, accessed 21 February 2017, <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/frequently-requested-statistics-immigrants-and-immigration-united-states#Top>.

¹²⁴ Stalnaker, 25.

goods, and building strong and resilient communities that can stand up to criminal intrusions.”¹²⁵

With this strategy, the U.S.-Mexico security cooperation has removed drug kingpins, expanded and professionalized the Mexican federal police, and helped trusted businesses avoid extensive border checks.¹²⁶ To implement these pillars, in addition to funding, there is training. In fact, training is an important component of the U.S.-Mexico military cooperation. The United States provides 7,678 elite courses that include training in special tactics, anti-narcotics operations, and antiterrorism strategies.¹²⁷

Even though the United States does not see a real threat coming from Canada, they still maintain strong security cooperation as a means of deterrence. Historically, Canada has been a reliable U.S. ally, whether during World War Two or the Cold War this is materialized by the North American Air Defense Command since 1957-¹²⁸ even though there was friction related to the participation of Canada in the Vietnam War. Less than ten years ago, “in 2008, Ottawa and Washington quietly signed an agreement to

¹²⁵ Shannon K. O’Neil, “Refocusing U.S.-Mexico Security Cooperation” (Policy Innovation Memorandum No. 27, Council on Foreign Relations Press, New York, NY, December 2012), accessed 21 February 2017, <http://www.cfr.org/mexico/refocusing-us-mexico-security-cooperation/p29595>.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Gabrielle Acierno and Sarah Kinoshian, “Mexico to Receive More Military Training from U.S. and Colombia,” *Security Assistance Monitor*, 9 April 2015, accessed 21 February 2017, <http://securityassistance.org/blog/mexico-receive-more-military-training-us-colombia>.

¹²⁸ National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces, “North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD),” Government of Canada, modified 9 March 2017, accessed 27 April 2017, <http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/about-org-structure/norad.page>.

support each other's military during floods, forest fires, hurricanes, earthquakes and after a terrorist attack”¹²⁹

Some areas of U.S.-Canadian security cooperation are:

1. Military Cooperation Committee: in charge of issuing North America defense plan, its review Canada-United States Defense Plan;
2. Cooperation on Land: the main purpose is to increase the Army's efficiency through training;
3. Cooperation at Sea: its focus is on surveillance and control of vast ocean areas on both coasts; and
4. Defense Production/Defense Development Sharing Arrangements: an extensive network of defense production, research, and development arrangements.¹³⁰

The national interest seriously challenges the cooperation between Mali security forces and the security forces of its neighboring countries. The study of the countries located in the north of Mali underscores the tensions between Algeria, Libya, and Morocco, making any security cooperation difficult. Therefore, the security cooperation of Mali and its neighboring countries cannot create a peaceful environment. On the other

¹²⁹ Murray Brewster, “Canada-U.S. Military Ties: Nations in Lockstep on Defence Issues, Experts Say,” *The Huffington Post*, 16 December 2011, updated 15 February 2012, accessed 21 February 2017, http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2011/12/16/canada-us-military-army_n_1154232.html.

¹³⁰ Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina, “Chapter V: Canada-United States Defence Cooperation,” *White Paper on Defence of Canada*, accessed 12 February 2017, <http://www.resdal.org/Archivo/defd-cV.htm>.

hand, the United States develops strong security cooperation with its neighboring countries as means of deterring any threat.

Table 14. Assessment of Effectiveness of Mali Security Forces to Create Peaceful Environment

LOE	Criteria	Country	Little Effective (1)	Moderately Effective (2)	Explicitly Effective (3)
CREATE PEACEFUL ENVIRONMENT	How effective is the cooperation among security components of a country in creating a peaceful environment?	MALI	X		
		U.S.			X
	How effective is the cooperation between security components of neighboring countries in creating a peaceful environment?	MALI		X	
		U.S.			X
TOTAL		MALI= 03		US=06	

Source: Created by author.

Overall, the security forces of a country with a robust border control policy based on adaptive doctrine, adequate materiel, and suitable skill, can fully contribute to control migration. In this case, Mali falls far behind the United States because of the economic situation and the instability of the country. Creating a peaceful environment is another leverage to deter migration. Security cooperation is the best tool to enable this environment. However, due to repeated rebellion, coupled with the trend of hegemony in some neighboring countries, Mali still falls behind the United States.

Table 15. Assessment of Effectiveness of Mali Security Forces to Reduce Migration

LOE	Criteria	Country	Little Effective (1)	Moderately Effective (2)	Explicitly Effective (3)
BORDER CONTROL	Is the current doctrine suitable for deterring migration?	MALI	<u>X</u>		
		U.S.			<u>X</u>
	Do the security forces have adequate materiel capabilities?	MALI		<u>X</u>	
		U.S.			<u>X</u>
	Do the security forces have adequate training to secure borders?	MALI		<u>X</u>	
		U.S.			<u>X</u>
CREATE PEACEFUL ENVIRONMENT	How effective is the cooperation among the security components of countries in creating a peaceful environment?	MALI	<u>X</u>		
		U.S.			<u>X</u>
	How effective is the cooperation between security components of neighboring countries in creating a peaceful environment?	MALI		<u>X</u>	
		U.S.			<u>X</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>	MALI= 08		<u>US= 15</u>		

Source: Created by author.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter answers the primary research question: is it possible for security force personnel to cooperate in reducing overall cross-border migration throughout the

region? The analyze of all factors show that even though there are some challenges, security forces personnel can reduce the migration threat. First, the chapter highlights the civil-military relations that prevail in West African countries. This has been undermined since the colonial times when the colonists used security forces to implement their policy. In addition, the frequent involvement of the military in politics through military coups worsens the situation. Second, the study of West African states' capabilities through ESF shows that West Africa security forces can, with some difficulty, control migration. In the author's opinion, each domain needs improvement with material acquisition and leadership requiring significant adjustments. The comparative case study between Mali and the United States shows deep disparities between these two countries in terms of border control policies and creating a peaceful environment. Mali still has a long way to go, not only because of its economic situation, but because of political and military will.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion

The objective of the study was to answer this question, is it possible for security force personnel to cooperate in reducing overall cross-border migration throughout the region? The study proves that the West African security forces can effectively reduce migration even though there is still room for improvement.

The West Africa region has faced a migration challenge for the past two decades. The level of poverty, security concerns caused by rebel threats, and the spread of endemic diseases underscore this issue. Therefore, this situation triggered a change in the mindset from free circulation, as stated in the “ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Residence, and Establishment,” to strong border control management. To deal with this situation, West African countries must rely heavily on their most influential regional military organization, which is the ESF. However, some problems impede the ability of this organization to reduce overall cross-border migration.

The first issue is civil-military relations. Relations are still stumbling because there is no real cooperation between security forces and civilians, and most civilians see security forces as their predator, not their protector. This situation has evolved since the independence era and needs to be reevaluated. In fact, good civil-military cooperation will enhance peace and security, a condition that is necessary to deter migration.

The second problem is that the capability of the ESF is only fair or just passable. This organization has some assets, such as sound legal documents that enable it to control the border. The ESF has a good organization made up of military, civilian, and police

components. The ESF has personnel who have some basic training; however, the major problem is caused by poor leadership skills. In fact, at the strategic level, countries that contribute more to the budget of ECOWAS tend to influence the decision making of the organization. At the tactical level, the unequal attention given to each national component limits the effectiveness of that force. In addition to this leadership problem, the organization faces a materiel problem. This issue is important because countries in that region cannot afford materiel and mainly rely on external assistance and cooperation.

The Mali case study revealed that the security forces of an individual country alone are unable to control migration. In fact, the first condition required to deter migration is the ability of the security forces to control their border. This border control seems to be ineffective because many West African countries lack materiel and skills to implement their border control policy. In addition to border control, creating a peaceful environment is the *sine qua non*, the condition for security personnel to deter illegal migration. This is impossible unless countries increase their effectiveness through security cooperation.

In view of the above, it is urgent to take steps to allow security force personnel to deter the threat caused by illegal migration. This involves actions at the individual country level and at the ECOWAS level.

Recommendations

Actions at the Country Level

Even though migration is a collective problem at the regional level because it involves border issues, each individual country must take action instead of waiting for a solution at the regional level. Therefore, it is important for the security forces of each

country to foster civil-military relations, support democracy and good governance, and increase the level of cooperation.

Foster Civil-Military Relations

Civil-military relations are important to deter migration because they deal with the instability that triggers the displacement of the population. Fostering civil-military relations takes a long time because it aims to change the mindset of the people. Civil-military relations must be a synergistic effort between political leaders, military personnel, and the population. With the evolvement of the security issue, the military needs to cooperate with the civilian population. Due to the frustration created by the security forces in the area of independence and democracy, the civilian population is still suspicious of the military. Therefore, security forces must break the ice by increasing communication with the population. Security forces must organize barracks or military institution visits for civilians, and explain to them that the main purpose of the security forces is to support and protect them. These activities must be followed by concrete actions for the population such as free medication and infrastructure rehabilitation by the security forces.

Security Forces Personnel Support for Democracy and Good Governance

Democracy and good governance is important to deter migration. In fact, if the country is governed well, the security and economic situation improves and people do not migrate. The major contribution of security forces is to provide to democracy and good governance. Security forces must not be involved in politics like staging military coups. They must leave the political games to the politicians. Security forces personnel must

realize that they are under the command of civilian authorities to serve the population. They must weigh any military action against military regulations, and local and international laws. Military leaders must instill the idea of responsibility and accountability in their men. Therefore, emphasis on leadership training is important at all levels. Military leaders must encourage their men in their professional military education. This will open their mindset in the accomplishment of their daily activities.

Increase Security Cooperation

Security cooperation is important because it improves the capability of security forces to reduce migration. The cooperation must be at two levels: internal and external. Internal cooperation is the collaboration among the components of security personnel. This is a big issue because the security forces are undermined by the phenomenon of tribalism. In Mali and Niger, the incorporation of the Tuareg ethnic group as an implementation of a peace agreement, is still a problem. In addition, the split of security forces into pro and con Sanogo camps after the Captain Sanogo military coup still creates division in the security forces. It is important then, for the security forces to go beyond this division and work effectively. The best course is to base promotion on merit, not political or tribal consideration, and create a joint operations center that encompasses all security force components.

Since migration is a cross border issue, it is important to increase cooperation with neighboring countries. The study shows that the trans-border threat created instability in Mali that led to migration. Therefore, security forces from neighboring countries must be willing to exchange information. It is imperative to create some joint forces between two or three countries such as the multinational joint task forces created

against Boko Haram. Countries must encourage bilateral military exercises that aim at deterring any threat that can cause instability.

Due to the level of poverty in West African countries, they can do have adequate capabilities to deter migration. Therefore, security cooperation with developed countries such as France, England, and the United States must be encouraged. This cooperation not only enhances the skills of the personnel, but allows countries to acquire some equipment through donors.

Action at the ECOWAS Organization Level

When the ESF was created, asymmetric warfare and rebel group activities did not dominate the strategic situation. One of the major shortcomings of the ESF is its inability to deal with asymmetric threats that are a major cause of migration. It is therefore advisable to rethink the design of this organization.

Forces Organization

With the rise of new threats, such as Boko Haram or the Tuareg rebel group in Mali, it is important to reorganize the ESF in order to have a quick and flexible response option. In fact, with sophisticated equipment and extremely well organized rebels groups, the thirty-day notice for deployment of the ESF TF is now ineffective. It is therefore advisable to create a special forces unit within the TF. Unlike other components that form as the need arises, this special force must be permanent and have a seven-day deployment notice.

Training

The ESF accomplishes its training through the Centers of Excellence located in Ghana, Mali, and Nigeria. Yet, few personnel train in these institutions, leaving the responsibility to the individual countries to train the remainder of their personnel. Due to the variations in the doctrine of these countries, it is difficult to achieve unity of effort. It is prudent to increase the number of trainees and issue a unified doctrine to all countries of West Africa. The training must focus on the evolvment of the current threats such as Boko Haram and rebel groups in Mali.

Leadership

Leadership is a real problem in the organization. It is true that the principle of sovereignty must prevail in international relationships, but even in the United Nations, there are some exceptions. In fact, only great powers have the right of veto. Similarly, Nigeria, which provides more than 60 percent of the operating budget of the organization, must deserve more privilege. If the ESF is unwilling to grant privilege to Nigeria, the country that contributes the most, and help it fight Boko Haram, it is foreseeable that Nigeria will leave the ECOWAS. This scenario will trigger the collapse of the institution due to a lack of funding.

At the tactical level, to be able to deter migration, the ESF must give equal privilege to military, police, and civilian components. It is likely that future conflict within the region will not engage country against country, but countries against insurgent groups. This new kind of war will cause more humanitarian crises and trigger migration. Unfortunately, West African militaries are less prepared to deal with humanitarian crises.

Therefore, the focus must be on developing the capacity of the civilian and police components.

Material

The effectiveness of the ESF to deter migration is linked with their materiel capability. Knowing the economic situation of this region, materiel acquisition is challenging. ECOWAS countries must rely on military cooperation with Western countries, China, and donors. Yet, there must be an effort towards democracy and good governance in order to be entitled to the aid.

The study shows that West Africa security forces have limited resources to deter migration. For more insight, the author recommends further research focus on three areas: partnership and cooperation within West African states, and increased cooperation with non-African states. Efforts should be increased to foster greater partnership of West Africa security forces to deal with migration. In addition, controlling migration is not the sole duty of the security forces. In fact, in addition to providing security, countries need to implement economic and social stability, which is the duty of other governmental agencies.

Therefore, further studies must emphasize the cooperation between security forces and other instruments of national power such as diplomatic or political, information, and economic to help deter migration. Finally, since the new trend of migration is from West Africa to Europe and Asia, future research could focus on how to improve the on-going relationships between non-African and African governments to help deter migration.

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